BULLETIN OF THE INSTITUTE OF TRADITIONAL CULTURES MADRAS-5

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1981
JANUARY—JUNE
&
JULY—DECEMBER

Special Number (continued)

Silver Jubillee year of the Institute of Traditional Cultures, Madras and the Post Centenary Silver Jubilee year of the University of Madras (1982)

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UNIVERSITY OF MADRAS
MADRAS-600 005, INDIA.

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UNIVERSITY OF MADRAS
MADRAS-600 005, INDIA

INSTITUTE OF TRADITIONAL CULTURES

Madras-5.

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20.3.87

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AN APPEAL

As you are aware, it is vital that tradition and culture which are treasures of a nation are to be promoted, preserved and prevented from becoming extinct from the impact of science and technology fast developing in the West. The Unesco discussed this question in the early fifties, as a result of which this Institute was established with its aid in 1957 to study the traditions and cultures of South and South East Asia. Ever since 1957 the Institute has been functioning as a clearing house of knowledge and information on traditional cultures in South and South East Asian countries including India.

The Institute is a registered body and the Vice Chancellor University of Madras is the ex-officio President. The object of the Institute is to collect articles from scholars on the various aspects of traditions and cultures, and to hold seminars, lectures, symposia and conferences relating to South and South East Asian countries. The materials so gathered are published in the Biannual *Bulletin of the Institute of Traditional Cultures, Madras*. It commands wide circulation not only in India but also in foreign countries. The subjects covered in the Bulletin will be of interest not only to University Professors and other scholars but also to Research students and persons interested in ancient tradition and Culture.

Since 1957; forty seven numbers of Bulletin were published. The latest Bulletin relates to the year 1981. The present price of each issue is Rs. 20/-. The University of Madras publishes the Bulletin. For terms and condition for the supply of the Bulletin, the Registrar, University of Madras may kindly be addressed.

I request that the enlightened Readers may be pleased to recommend the purchase of the Bulletin to other scholars and to request them to place orders with the Registrar, University of Madras, Madras-600 005 for supply of the Bulletin of the Institute.

P. THIRUGNANASAMBANDHAN,
Director.

PREFACE

The Bulletin contains articles on traditions and culture of South and South East Asia including articles on Indian traditions and culture. The International system of diacritical marks has been adopted to the extent possible, in the Bulletin.

We are glad to publish in this issue a brief account of the celebration of the Silver Jubilee of the Institute which coincided with the Madras University Post Silver Jubilee celebration, besides the proceedings of the Seminar on 'Folk Arts in Tamil Nadu' held during this celebration on 22nd September 1985. It may be noted that eminent persons like the Hon'ble Thiru Ma.Po. Sivagnanam, Chairman, Tamil Nadu Legislative Council, Thiru K. Chockalingam, former Chief Secretary, Government of Tamil Nadu, Thiru D. V. Narayanaswami and Thiru T. S. Parthasarathy besides learned scholars and Professors like Mrs. Shyamala Balakrishnan, Dr. N. Sanjivi and Dr. A. N. Perumal and also well-known artists participated in this celebration.

The Institute is grateful to all the scholars who have contributed articles, delivered lectures and led seminars on a variety of themes pertaining to traditional cultures which appear in this issue.

We are grateful to the Government of Tamil Nadu as well as the Government of India for the continuance of their financial assistance to the Institute.

The University of Madras continues to accommodate the Institute in its building, providing it with necessary amenities and bears the entire cost of the paper and printing of the Bulletin. The Institute is grateful to the University for all the valuable help, which enables it to carry on its activities.

She devoted all her energy in developing a democratic secular socialistic society in a country of diverse races, religions, language and culture. Every one of her act was directed to the achievement of an Integrated India. She literally shed her last drop of blood in the literal sense for strengthening the forces of National integration when she was gunned down on the 31st October 1984 by an assassin.

The Institute of Traditional Cultures pays its humble tribute to the first lady of the land who strove for the preservation of the hoary culture of Bharat in all her life.

P. THIRUGNANASAMBANDHAN,
Director.

Correction

Please read p. ii as printed in continuation of p. i and p. iv as printed in continuation of p. iii in the preface and the article that follows. The error is regretted.

MRS. INDIRA GANDHI

A TRIBUTE

There was born in this part of the planet, a bright star on the 19th November 1917 who was to rise to meteoric heights as the Prime Minister of India and that was the Bharata Ratna Mrs. Indira Gandhi.

Born as the illustrious daughter of the first great Prime Minister of independent India, one of the greatest of the stalwarts of freedom movement she inherited the wisdom and sagacity, a strong will and determination in winning independence to India and after securing independence to push through programmes of lasting benefit to all strata of people, the poor and the rich, the agriculturist and industrialist, the scientist and technocrat, the man of letters and artists. A wide traveller that she was she was able to project the true culture of India based on the sayings of saints and seers of the Vedas and Upanishads, the Gita and the Epics, the accomplishments of musicians and dancers, of sculptors and painters and all those that contributed to the mosaic of the Composite culture of India. She was equally at home with the tribals and the sophisticated, the unlettered masses and the scholarly elite. By evincing deep interest in scientific and technological advances as well as literature and arts, religion and philosophy as the guiding spirit of the Academy of Sciences, the Sahitya Academy the Lalit Kala Academy and so on she showed the way to the Nation how to lead a balanced life looking forward to the technological age without drifting away from the traditional cultural moorings and Indian values of life.

As the Prime Minister of the Republic of India and Chairman of the non-aligned countries the contribution made by her to the striving for global peace, international co-operation and understanding among nations is highly significant.

The Institute is thankful to the Heads and other staff members of the Department of the University and Research scholars for their kind and hearty co-operation in the activities of the Institute.

We are thankful to our esteemed President Dr. B. B. Sundaresan Vice Chancellor, University of Madras who has been evincing great interest in the activities of the Institute.

We offer our sincere thanks to the Governing Body of the Institute who have given us valuable assistance in running the Institute.

Madras,
27—6—1985.

P. THIRUGNANASAMBANDHAN,
Director.

CONTENTS

		Pages
Preface	...	i
Mrs. Indira Gandhi — A Tribute	...	iii
ARTICLES		
Is there a 'Buddha Complex' in the Human Life Cycle? —*Dr. D. Raja Ganesan.*	...	1
Social Philosophy of Sri Aurobindo — Stages of Social Evolution —*Dr. C. Kuppuswamy.*	...	19
Indian Coinage —*Prof. P. Thirugnanasambandhan.*	...	29
The special Features of Saiva Siddhanta —*Thiru C. N. Singaravelu.*	...	37
Ramayana Tradition in Indonesia —*Dr. V. Suryanarayanan & Tmt. P. Bhavani.*	...	53
REPORTS OF SEMINAR		
Tamil Murukan, Hindu Skanda-Kartikeya and Buddhistic Manjusri	...	63
Islamisation of Indonesia: India's Role	...	109
Siva Worship	...	117
Western Impact on Indian Languages in the 20th Century both in regard to its contents and form.	...	141

Pages

The Comparative Study of Cultures of Dravidians and Africans. ... 167

Linguistic Affinity between Dravidian and Japanese... 187

Silver Jubilee Celebration of the Institute of Traditional Cultures. ... 203

The authors of the articles and other contributors that appear in the Bulletin are responsible for the statement of facts or expression of opinions contained therein. They do not necessarily reflect the views of the Institute.

IS THERE A "BUDDHA COMPLEX" IN THE HUMAN LIFE CYCLE?*

BY

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&

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The aim of this paper is to propound and adduce evidence in favour of what I have labelled the "*Buddha Complex*" demonstrate that it is an instance of alienation—from gender-role functions, and to indicate how the āśrama scheme of life evolved in Hindu Culture provides for a normative mode of resolution of the Complex as also for an optimal pattern of relationships not only between the sexes but also across the generations. The conceptualisation and the validation of the complex is offered as a contribution to sociological *theory* especially from a psychoanalytic perspective. The vindication of

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*Paper presented in the X World Congress of Sociology, *Mexico City, Mexico, August 16–21, 1982*

* I am deeply indebted to Dr. R. Balasubramanian, M.A.,Ph.D., D.Litt., Director, The Dr. Radhakrishnan Institute for Advanced Study in Philosophy, University of Madras, for introducing me, as my doctoral guide, to the study of alienation from a *remedial* perspective. Again, thanks to his unimposing but irresistible influence, I am finding my way home to Advaita, the philosophy par excellence of India, which goes beyond Freud and Nietzsche, and Marx and Sartre, in its solution to the three perennial problems of man namely sex, alienation and death.

** I am also thankful to Dr. (Miss) E. G. Vedanayagam, M.A.,M S., Ed.D.(Oregon), Professor and Head, Department of Education, University of Madras, for perfect academic freedom to explore unconventional areas pertaining to education.

the validity of the aśrama scheme of life in the context of the *Buddha Complex* is offered as a contribution to *practice*.

"*Buddha Complex*" refers to a primordial psychic tendency in man to abandon his mate and offspring, abruptly dissolving one's role commitments to one's adult roles in the institution of marriage as it has evolved in patrilineal societies. The tendency is precipitated with the birth of a child, as a rule the first child.

Buddha Complex is gender-specific: it is confined to men only. It is a near universal phenomenon in patrilineal societies across cultures. *Disillusionment* with the cyclic process of sexual conjugation, reproduction and commitment to the care of the offspring is the antecedent psychological condition for the precipitation of the complex. The complex thus pertains to the entire spectrum of the gender-role functions of the male. This comprehensive nature of the phenomenon distinguishes it from another gender-specific phenomenon namely *Coolidge Effect* (Eysenck, etc.al., 1979). *Coolidge Effect* is also the outcome of male disillusionment as manifest in mating behaviour but it is always with respect to a specific mate with whom the subject has been cohabiting for prolonged periods. Whereas *Coolidge Effect* will manifest itself either as serial monogamy and/or the Don Juan Syndrome, *Buddha Complex* may lead on to a radical dissolution of one's commitments to the entire range of gender-role functions. Again, *Coolidge Effect* is a relatively simple phenomenon involving a bipolar relationship between the subject and his mating object. *Buddha Complex,* on the other hand, involves multiple relationships with mate, offspring and, in fact, the entire social structure. The context of its onset also distinguishes *Buddha Complex* from *Coolidge Effect.* Mate parturation is an occasion for the precipitation of the *Buddha Complex* whereas mate satiety and nauseum engenders *Coolidge Effect.* Finally, *Buddha Complex* is precipitated relatively abruptly but *Coolidge Effect* is a slow and cumulative process. To use a nonpositivistic terminology, *Buddha Complex* is a spiritual phenomenon whereas *Coolidge Effect* is a sensual one,

Like Freud's *Oedipus Complex*, the *Buddha Complex* too has its genesis in the repression engendered by the superimposition of a social structure on the innate biological propensity of the human male for transient, importunate and promiscuous mating-without any reciprocal and/or enduring obligations for the consequences - of course, at a different point in the life cycle. The timing of its onset is a function of psychobiological maturation and the social contingency of commitment to the roles in the institutional structure of marriage as it obtains in patrilineal societies: evidently, the complex cannot be precipitated unless and until the subject has reached the stage of *generativity* and has actually committed himself to the role of husband and is also confronted with the sequential obligation to assume the father role.

Though the social or, better, the reality structure of human reproduction and care of the offspring is the proximate cause of the precipitation of the two complexes, the ultimate cause of the *Oedipus Complex* is the 'pleasure principle' whereas that of the *Buddha Complex* is the '*Nirvāṇa Principle*'. Freud (1950) has recognised the operation of the *Nirvāṇa Principle* in human nature but it is Marcuse (1966) who has labelled it as such. Whereas the Western cultural Tradition views the dominance of the Nirvāṇa Principle as a symptom of *regression*, the Indian tradition views (Kakar, 1977) the same as a quest for *liberation*.

Where the culture has explicitly reckoned with the *Buddha Complex* and has provided a channel for its radical resolution; when the subject has sufficient psychological sophistication to take an objective and transcendental standpoint on his own predicament; and when the subject does not (have to) bother much about the immediate, mundane consequences of such a radical resolution on his dependents, the complex rises to a conscious level. Then it leads on to a radical and authentic - though unilateral - dissolution of his commitment to the conjugal and parental role that is, to his gender-role functions.

Vardhamāna, the founder of the Jain religion of India and the Buddha, the founder of Buddhism, are world-historic figures

who can be cited as illustrations for subjects in whom the complex rose to the full conscious level and was consummated by radical resolution. Vardhamāna dissolved his commitment to the conjugal and the concomitant parental role and embraced an ascetic order] at the age of thirty, after the birth of a daughter. Similarly, the Buddha tore himself away from worldly life in quest of salvation, at the threshold of fatherhood. He too was about thirty years old then. To cite more recent illustrations from Indian cultural history: the grand-father of Swami Vivekananda (Vivekananda himself became a famous Hindu monk, but before he entered into wedlock) renounced the world just after the birth of his son – that is, Vivekananda's father. The most poignant and radical case is that of Swami Sridharānanda, a monk of the Ramakrishna Mission order, who took to Sannyāsa at the birth of his first child even though the mother died at the child-birth.

These cases illustrate the precipitation and explicit, conscious, authentic and radical resolution of the *Buddha Complex.* But all of them are from the Indian cultural setting. Is there any evidence in favour of the claim that it is a trans-cultural phenomenon? There is, but it is indirect: Prof. Isaacs (1978) made an extensive search for works that deal with the parent-offspring relation from the *parental perspective* both in the humanities and in the social sciences. He found out that whereas there is a plethora of studies from the son-perspective, there is almost none from the complementary, father-perspective. Prof. Isaacs has rightly pointed out that the *Oedipus Complex* is the prime mover behind the enormous cultural output – literary and social scientific – from the son-perspective. He wonders what happens when these son-writers become fathers and why they do not write from the father-perspective. I would attribute the uneven cultural output (both literary and social scientific) from the two complementary (father –, and son –) perspectives to the incidence – albeit at the unconscious level – of the *Buddha Complex.* If the Oedipus Complex is a primordial, psychic tendency in the human male which pushes him to move aggressively *towards* the world during his infancy, the *Buddha*

Complex pulls him *away* from the world during adulthood. Thus, the two complexes are not incongruent in an individual's life cycle whose psychological development is parallel to the parabola of his biological growth curve. In fact the tendencies engendered by them are *complementary in* their *function* vis-a-vis the social-psychological relationship between the father and the son *though* they a-e diametrically *opposite* to each other *in their direction.* It is only when the onset of the two complexes in a father-son pair is anachronistic that the intergenerational conflict is intensified and/or protracted. If the father Karamazov (in Dostovsky's *B other Karamazov*) had duly admitted into his consciousness the *Buddha Complex* and resolved it appropriately (instead of being a rival to his son in cohabiting with the same village whore) he would not have become the victim of parricide.

Of course, if the average individual is to recognise and resolve the *Buddha Complex* appropriately, his culture must in the first instance recognise it, prepare him for it and provide a variety of alternative and approved modes of resolution.

The Indian cultural tradition has recognised the *phenomenon* of the *Buddha Complex* though, as far as I know, nobody has yet formally articulated it and explicitly labelled it as such. The tradition approves of nay even admires, the radical resolution of the *Buddha Complex* through renunciation of the world. The Buddha and Vardhamāna – and many other 'Sannyāsis' (wandering monks) like them – are even today revered as gods in the Indian Cultural tradition despite the fact that they have deserted their wives and offsprings by unilaterally dissolving their role commitments to them. The lay people are forbidden as a matter of cultural sanction from prying into their antecedents. Reciprocally, the 'Sannyāsis' are expected to abjure sensuous indulgence in all its forms and especially from sexual intercourse. They would lose their revered status even if they cohabit with their own wives.

There is yet another piece of anthropological evidence in favour of my contention that the Indian cultural tradition

recognises, and prepares the individual for reckoning with, the *Buddha Complex*:

One of the wedding rituals in India is the simulated renunciation of the world by the young bride-groom and his symbolic departure in quest of salvation. He is intercepted by the father of the bride and is beseeched by him to condescend to marry his daughter and cherish and protect her. The bridegroom thereupon 'reluctantly' concedes to enter into wedlock purely as a gesture of compassion towards the bride-to-be who would otherwise languish into lifelong loneliness and sterility.

I can think of two alternative interpretations for this ritual: either the groom-to-be is presumed to have become in the preceding phase of formal education saturated with Vedantic wisdom which decidedly has an 'other-worldly' thrust and is thus presumed to be really reluctant to enter into the commitments of marriage; for, among other things, vedanta warns man of the disillusionment that awaits those who seek salvation in conjugal life; Or, it is a kind of symbolic rehearsal and anticipatory neutralisation of the disillusionment that awaits every male of the human species who enters enthusiastically into the institution of marriage as it has evolved in patrilineal societies. *The neutralisation*, it must be emphasised here, *is, through appeal to the altruistic motives* that are presumed in this culture to be inherent in every individual. Whichever interpretation may be closer to the truth, the ritual as such attests to the recognition in the Indian cultural tradition of the precipitation of the *Buddha Complex* during the post-marital phase of adulthood in the human male.

The legitimation of the radical alternative of renunciation provides for the authentic resolution of the complex in the case of individuals who can abjure sexual intercourse once and for all. The legitimation and the popular acclaim and endorsement of this radical alternative possibly take the sting out of the sense of remorse and guilt that would haunt those who abruptly and unilaterally dissolve their commitment to

an otherwise irrevocable and socially enforced sacred contract. There is no evidence whatsoever to the effect that the Buddha or Vardhamāna ever felt any guilt or remorse about their extreme step.

When the culture and/or the individual does not explicitly recognise and reckon with the *Buddha Complex* it engenders intrapsychic conflicts (at the conscious, subconscious and unconscious levels), alienation and/or forms of false consciousness for prolonged periods.

Many fathers in Western and Westernised cultures pursue their professional careers with a Compulsive-Obsessive commitment around the clock, seven days a week and three hundred and sixty five days a year during the very period of their family life when their children are growing up. They want to leave a mark in the history of their chosen profession. All along they also feel intensely guilty that they are seeking to immortalise their professional identities at the cost of the time and attention they feel they owe and/or expected to bestow on their growing children - who are to perpetuate their biogenetic identities. Their relationship with their children is characterised by an ambivalent attitude. They are clear cases of an inadequate resolution of the *Buddha Complex.* This in turn engenders alienation in their growing children (Keniston, 1965).

Across cultures a number of eminent individuals have suffered from the *Buddha Complex.* There are definite biographical evidences to support my argument that psychic agony was engendered by an inadequate reckoning with the *Buddha Complex*:

Mahatma Gandhi had been very candid about his son-role in his autobiography. But himself and his biographers - including Eric Erikson - pass by his father role in 'anguished silence' (Isaacs, 1978). "His behaviour towards his family and his close associates was often criticised as impersonal and cold" (Spratt, 1966). Of course, Gandhi had given up Indulgence in

sex when he was about forty years old. It is the other half of the complex – repudiation of the paternal role obligation at the psychic level that was the thorn in the flesh.

Tolstoy who had 'bull-like sexual appetite' and 'sired a manorful of children' discovered – *but only towards the end of his life* – that salvation lies in 'embracing the moral absolute' (Isaacs, 1978) and not in biological perpetuation.

Rousseau reckoned in his own psyche with the 'inner and outer limits of the human condition' at the threshold of modernity is western culture. He acknowledged the 'crucial significance of sexuality in mankind' and posed for himself the question of the "optimal pattern of relationship between the two parts of the species". Rousseau reckoned that "sexual intercourse between male and female need *not* (emphasis added) generate a lasting bond akin to human marriage......... His appetite satisfied, the man no longer needs a given woman, nor the woman a given man. The man has not the least concern nor perhaps the least idea of the consequence of his action. One goes in one direction, the other in another, and there is no likelihood that at the end of nine months they have any memory of having known each other" (Masters, 1978). Nevertheless, he had a 'rending moral anguish' about his having abandoned his 'illegitimate' children, without an identity, to orphanages (Raczko, 1978),

My argument here is that Rousseau eame tantalisingly close to a radical and authentic resolution of the *Buddha Complex* when he reckoned the father relationship as ontologically rootless and socio-culturally imposed and learnt. But he went off at a tangent—at enormous intra-psychic costs to himself. Of course, he abandoned his children because he believed he had a message for the larger mankind and "living children, dirty pants and small pox requiring devotion" were incompatible with his calling. The Buddha and Vardhamana, who had appropriately resolved the complex, and were inspired by a similar mission never 'looked back' in guilt and remorse,

Aaron Sisson, the hero of D.H. Lawrence's novel, *'Aaron's Rod'*, authentically encounters the *Buddha Complex* and radically and successfully resolves it though not immediately after the birth of the *first* child. So does Siddhartha, the hero of Herman Hesses novel of even title, again after protraction and unhappiness.

Mathieu Delarue, the hero of Sartre's novel, *The Age of Reason*, can be cited as another instance of unresolved *Buddha Complex*. Mathieu, a middle aged professor of philosophy, wishes to keep himself free from (bourgeois) family ties, but in effect has settled into an insipid routine with a mistress, Marcelle. The mistress becomes pregnant due to his carelessness. Mathieu wants to interrupt the pregnancy but Marcelle wants the baby. Mathieu's brother points out to him that 'his whole life is built upon a lie': He wants a comfortable life and the appearance of liberty, the advantage of marriage without its inconveniences. At last Mathieu begins to wonder (Friedman, 1967) 'whether freedom is not just...acting in such a way that one cannot go back on it'.

Whereas Vardhamana, the Buddha and the other monks who renounced the world and took to sannyāsa are instances of radical *resolution*, Gandhi, Tolstoy, Aaron, Hesse, Rousseau and Delarue may be viewed as cases of *fixation* at various stages in the resolution of the *Buddha Complex*.

II

The *Buddha Complex* is clearly an instance of alienation conceived as a social psychological phenomenon in Stokols's (1975) theory of alienation. It manifests all the characteristics of the phenomenon of alienation which he has specified:

a. It is a sequential developmental process;

b. it develops in the context of an ongoing relationship between an individual and an object – in this instance, the human male and his gender-role functions as they obtain in patrilineal societies;

c. it involves an unexpected deterioration in the quality of the outcomes provided to the individual by the object;

d. it persists to the extent that the individual and the object remain spatially or psychologically proximal, and, finally

e. it may lead on to *irreversible cognitive changes* which result in the *state* of estrangement between the subject and his object.

As a social psychological phenomenon alienation can be viewed from two distinct but complementary perspectives: the societal and the psychological. From the societal perspective, certain contradictions in the social structure tend to engender alienation – an irreversible cognitive change which has its eventual locus in the individual subject. As a sequential developmental process alienation consists of two distinct phases: alienating and alienated. The assumption implicit in this distinction is that an individual need not give in and become aliena*ted* however aliena*ting* the conditions may be.

The *Buddha Complex* is also an instance of alienation conceived as a metaphysical phenomenon rooted in the inherent contradictions of human reality. As a metaphysical phenomenon manifest in particular societal contexts alienation can be classified into two types namely *reducible* alienation and *irreducible* alienation (Etzioni, 1968).

Utilising these distinctions I (Raja Ganesan, 1979) have developed elsewhere a normative model of man vis-a-vis the problem of alienation. One aspect of the solution to the problem is to raise the iudividuals' *thresholds of tolerance* for alienating conditions. The normative corollary of the distinction between reducible and irreducible alienation is the cultivation of the capacity for *discriminating* between reducible alienation and irreducible alienation. The *criterion* for distinguishing between the two types of alienation is '*surplus repression*' (Marcuse, 1966). *Rationality* and *Authenticity* together are the

instruments for gauging the surplus repression in a given social order.

Reducible alienation is to be eliminated by *'commitment to change'*, either through *'autoplastic adjustment'* or *'alloplastic adjustment'* (Keniston, 1965). The former involves the process of *socialisation* and the latter calls for *social praxis.* The nisus – direction – for social praxis is *social progress.* The *criterion* for social progress is the elimination of alienating matrices of surplus repression in the social structure without undermining the structure itself and / or without repercussions elsewhere, especially on integrative lattices,

The raising of the threshold of tolerance and cultivating the capacity for discrimination are the functions of education in the social order. Social Reconstruction can be viewed as complementary to education in the task of accomplishing social progress.

Irreducible alienation too is to be encountered authentically nd rationally – with or without the aid of *faith.* In my conceptualisation faith – religious or philosophical – is orthogonal to rationality and authenticity and is not opposed to them. That is, faith can and must supplement reason but not supplant it. It should not interfere with the capacity for discriminating between irreducible alienation and reducible alienation. Faith should also enable the individual to be in accord with his own nature – in its unique and universal dimensions and with the 'suchness of things': in short to be authentic.

Of course, the maintenance of a social structure – any type of social structure – entails an inevitable minimum of repression and an irreducible quantum of alienation. Complexes are 'intra-psychic precipitates' that result, often inadvertently from the failure of the individual to negotiate and accommodate himself to the nodal points of irreducible alienation in the social structure. They differ from *faith* in that they are irrational, interfere with the capacity for discrimination between reducible alienation and irreducible alienation, incapacitate the

individual from actualising his human nature and spread over from the particular contexts in which they were precipitated to the entire network of the individual's relationships to the social structure – that is, both the alienating matrices and the integrative lattices. Depending upon the behavioral direction they take, the complexes either undermine the social structure and/or cause further psychic damage to the individual.

Now, the task of social reconstruction - consisting of sociological theorising and practice – is to identify matrices of surplus repression in the social structure and design alternative lattices along with congruent lifestyles towards the elimination of reducible alienation.

Mythical heroes like Oedipus and the Buddha are extreme limit cases in the social calculus of surplus repression – within the parameters of the human condition. They help keep the radical alternatives salient in the horizon of our sociological awareness. But they cannot provide a normative model for the common man nor their tribe can increase without jeopardising the social order. A radical way like that of the Buddha whi h requires all of its followers to give up sex will not survive its founder for long - at least not in its original, pristine form. The world must be peopled, ageing cohorts of every generation must be replaced, offsprings cared for and the social structure must be sustained, by mending it now and then wherever necessary. To put it in a lighter but certainly truer and more homely vein: All of us may revere and adore the Buddha for what he did but few would prefer him for a son-in-law!

I must mention here, by the way, another *hypothesis* of mine derived from a reading of Swami Vivekananda: that waves of ethically ascetic and metaphysically nihilistic Buddhism were followed among certain groups of emotionally volati'e people in ancient India by the cult of *Vāmāchāra* – of *collective sex.* It seems that not only the hyppies of the West took to Buddhism with enthusiasm during the sixties of the present century: centuries ago sects with Buddhistic proclivities have

taken to the hyppie culture with matching fervour! After all the Buddha's mood at the moment of deserting his wife and offspring eould not have been much different from Byron's permanent attitude to the male gender role function: *"Women are angels, wedlock is the devil"*! Of course, eventually the Buddha came round (Jones, 1979) to the view that women were not angels either but pure temptresses.

The tendencies symbolised by Oedipus and the Buddha both are deeply rooted in human nature. The Buddha believed that the incest taboo was inbuilt in human nature (Jones, 1979); but, Freud exploded this theory of the Buddha with his theory of the blind 'pleasure principle' as the prime mover in human nature. Freud was also aware of the need for and the possibility ef nirvāṇa (1963). However, he failed to reckon with this fact in his normative theory of man.

What we need is a theory of man which reckons with these contradictory tendencies in him and his l ability to alienation when any of his needs are unduly frustrated. Further these contradictory needs are found in varying strengths in different individuals and, again, they vary in their intensity within the same individual at various points in his life course. This theory in turn must become the basis for an optimal reconciliation and fulfilment of these needs within individuals and between individuals when they constitute a social arrangement.

III

The āśrama scheme of life evolved in Hindu culture is designed to offer at once a varied, comprehensive and well-rounded lifestyle for every individual. It is a way of life in rhythm with the ebb and flow of the *elan vital* in the human lifecycle. The basic assumption behind this scheme is that the world itself is a school for the soul and being-in-the-world is a lifelong education unto liberation. Another assumption implicit in the way the scheme has evolved is that the human lifephases are discrete though the purusha – the eternal witness consciousness at the ontological level – is an unchanging entity.

The discrete conception of the lifephases enables the accommodation of contradictory needs within a single lifecourse. The unchanging ontological substratum of the purusha provides for the continuity of identity in the final reckoning.

This worldview does not deny the use of any experience in the furtherance of the goal of liberation. The state of liberation consists in the emergence of a choiceless, effortless, contentless and hence *sexless* awareness of the self. But this ultimate sexless awareness is to be gained through and beyond sexual experience. In fact the climax of orgasm – the summit of sexual experience – is an elusive and asymptotic moment of *sexless* bliss. Till recently (Eysenck et.al., 1979) it has not been possible to distinguish phenomenologically male and female orgasms. In other words, one's mundane gender identity – and the concomitant alienation from gender role functions-seems to be the the heavy price one has to pay most of one's time for gaining, with decreasing frequency as one advances into senescence, a lightning glimpse of the sexless state in moments of orgasm.

Whereas the āśrama scheme of life visualises liberation as a state that can be achieved *through* and *beyond*-sexual experiece, Buddhism maintains that sex and liberation are absolutely antithetical. Thus Buddhism imposes *surplus repression* in a domain of common, basic, human need. In other words Buddhism *negates* the spiritual significance of sexual experience whereas the āśrama scheme of life accepts and accommodates the negative spiritual significance of sexual experience. As Kalidasa put it. one must be satiated with sexual enjoyment before one comes round to realising that salvation does *not* lie in sexual conjugation and/or reproduction. In fact one of the Indian sages, *Vatsyāyana*, is the author of a treatise on the science of sexual enjoyment which Eysenck et.al. (1979) have characterised as tho "*ancient parent of all modern sex manuals*". Vātsy yana, however, does not offer it as a treatise on salvation. The variety of conjugation techniques he describes would yield myriads of kinaesthetic delights that could just

mitigate *Coolidge Effect* – a mild form of alienation from a gender role function.

Freud propounded his pansexual theory of man though he was familiar with an authentic description of the state of spiritual liberation (1963): he maintainod that libidinal pleasure was the highest man could aspire for. Buddhism upholds the achievement of spiritual liberation as the summum honum of human life but, towards this end, imposes a severe regimen of gender role alienation. The āśrama scheme of life offers a really 'middle way' between Freud and the Buddha. It does not deny the joys of sex. But it constantly requires man to keep within the horizon of his awareness the higher possibilities of spiritual bliss that has been achieved by a number of individuals through and beyond sex. Whereas Freud thoughtlessly imprisoned man for ever to his gender identity and the Buddha sought to negate it, the āśrama scheme of life is a way that is designed at once to conserve and transcend man's gender identity. In other words, Freud concluded that to be a man is to be *merely* a male. The Buddha ordained that to be a man is *not* to be male. Vedanta affirms that to be a man is to be *more than* a male.

Now, what does this "more than being a male" consist of? It consists of the second phase of the āśrama scheme of life-that of the householder. It is the phase during which an individual gets married, begets children, cares for the offsprings, supports relatives and participates actively in community life. In short, it is the phase wherein the mature man bears the burden of the world on his shoulders. It is the phase of active *engagement* with the world. In this engagement man bears the brunt of the irreducible alienation inherent in the human condition and as it is manifest through his specific socio-historical context. During this phase he is also called upon to eliminate the reducible alienation in himself and in his community. During this phase he is to have the full confidence that this engagement with the world is as yet merely a preliminary moral exercise for achieving ultimate spiritual liberation through an understanding of the

nature of human reality which includes the domain of sex. It is thus also the phase during which he enjoys the world to his fill (Boss, 1965), of course, within the framework of whatever type of moral order in which he finds himself embedded.

This phase extends from entry into wedlock till the man "sees his *son's son*". Whereas the *Buddha Complex* urges man to abandon the world as soon as he sees his immediate progeny, the aśrama scheme requires him to stay put in his parental role through the life span of this next generation. The scheme also offers in the next phase of *vānaprastha* or retreat into the woods a life of freedom and solitude. It offers man vis-a-vis marital alienation the eonsolation, "If spring comes can winter be far behind?"

It must also be noted here that the time limits of this phase are not specified in terms of a uniform chronological age for all individuals but is in terms of his position in the generational ladder. The arrival of the grandchild truly signals the readiness of the next generation to enter the 'centre of the stage'. The time has come for the man to retire voluntarily from the 'eentre of the stage', make way for the oncoming generation and thus gracefully mellow with the reversing parabola of the human lifecycle. In the next phase he must devote himself to the quest for spiritual liberation.

The norms for this householder phase of life thus provide for legitimate conjugal enjoyment and for the bearing of the burden of alienation on the mature. sturdy and middle aged individual who can easily withstand it. The time limit for retreat is admirably reckoned to ensure a smooth and conflict-free succession of generations. The transition from the householder phase to the phase of retreat is the interregnum during which Freud recedes and the Buddha emerges.

Thus, the aśrama scheme of life provides for an optimal pattern of relationship not only between the sexes but also across generations. Of course, this scheme needs certain modifications in the modern context.

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SOCIAL PHILOSOPHY OF SRI AUROBINDO
STAGES OF SOCIAL EVOLUTION

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Society, as Aurobindo holds, is not a mere union of individuals. It is a ' being, a living power of the eternal truth, a self-manifestation of the cosmic spirit".[1] Rulers, people and thinkers alike think that existence of a nation-society refers to "a political status, the extent of their borders, their economic well-being and expansion, their laws, institutions, and the workings of these things".[2] But Aurobindo maintains that a society is not merely objective existence, but a subjective power. It is viewed by materialists that objective necessities are the only determining forces of a society and all else is a result of superficial accidents of their forces. But Aurobindo contends that there is a power behind each society which is responsible for all its functions. If individuals of a society act in consonance with the will of that power, the concerned society continues to live; if not, it fades out of existence.

The primal law and purpose of a society is to seek its own self-fulfilment, just like an individual seeks his own self-development. But, Aurobindo observes that all great changes in a society find their first clear and effective power and their direct shaping force in the mind and spirit of an individual or a limited number of individuals. Without individual improvement, the progress of the society is not possible.

An individual cannot make progress unless a change in his consciousness is effected. Any venture of an individual is an

1. Sri Aurobindo, The Human Cycle. It may be found in the Vol. 15 of Sri Aurobindo's collected works, Birth Centenary Library, Pondicherry, 1971. All page references in this article are from this edition.
2. *Ibid.*, p. 30.

adventure of the consciousness. In short, the individual falls or rises up depending on his conscious processes. Fundamentally the social progress depends on the individual development. Hence the rise and fall of societies are nothing but the rise and fall of psychological conditions of human beings.

In the *Human Cycle*, Sri Aurobindo has traced the whole cycle of social evolution through a sequence of five stages, viz., symbolic, typal, conventional, individualistic and subjective; then through another sequence of three stages, viz., barbarism, culture and spirituality; again through another sequence of three stages, viz. the infrarational, the rational and the suprarational. This chapter is dedicated to the exposition of the first series of five stages.

In *THE HUMAN CYCLE* Aurobindo has traced the evolution of society through a sequence of five stages, viz , symbolic, typal, conventional, individualistic or rational, and subjective. The classificatory names of these five stages had been adopted by Aurobindo from Karl Lamprecht, a German historian. Aurobindo holds that in general, each nation or civilization is bound to proceed through the above stages, but adds that the coils and zigzags or nature are too complex to specifically ascribe these stages to each society. Yet, a study of these five stages of social evolution highlights certain issues clearly.

The far-off Vedic age was the symbolic age and also the beginning of Indian society. At this stage, men were guided by their intuition and mystic experience. They were *disciplined from within,* rather *than from without.* They were 'social, without society. To them, man and cosmos were both revelative symbols of the reality. Society was the expression of the supreme reality. This is why this stage was named as SYMBOLIC by Aurobindo. To men of symbolic age, all social institutions and phases of life were attempts to express the mystic influences which govern activities of individuals. The ideal relation between man and woman was governed by the symbolic relation between *puruṣa* and *prakṛti* the male and the

female principles in the universe. The poet (*KAVI*) signified a seer, a revealer of hidden truths (*Krānta darśi*). Imagination for them was not, "a dancing courtesan to spin fictions but a priestess in god's house commissioned to image difficult and hidden truths".[3] Human society was an expression of the cosmic *puruṣa*, the four divisions of the society (*CATURVARṆA*) represented by the four divisions of cosmic principles. The *brāhmaṇa* represents the wisdom that conceives the order and principles of things, the *kṣatriya* indicates the power that sanctions, upholds and enforces it, the *Vaiśya* denotes the harmony that creates the arrangement of its parts, and the *śūdra* connotes the work that is carried out as directed by the rest.

The symbolic stages of society are predominantly religious and spiritual., the other elements, psychological, ethical, economic, physical are subordinate to the religious and spiritual ideas.

The second stage, the typal emerges when psychological and ethical principles dominate over even spiritual and religious ideals. At this stage, religion becomes a sanction for the ethical motives. The direct expression of the Divine ceases to dominate the walks of life. The typal stage creates the great social ideals, which even when they are dead, leave behind them the idea of social honour. In the typal age, the honour of the *brāhmin* resides in purity, high reverence for the things of the mind and spirit, and a disinterested possession and exclusive pursuit of learning and knowledge. The reputation of the *kṣatriya* lives in courage, chivalry, strength of certain proud self-restraint and self-mastery, nobility of character and the obligations of that nobility. The respect of the *vaiśya* lies in the rectitude of dealing, mercantile fidelity, sound production, order, liberality and philanthropy. The honour of the *śūdra* gives itself in obedience, subordination, faithful service, a disinterested attachment. But, when they don't arise naturally

3. *Ibid.*, p. 5.

out of the inner life of the man, ideals solidify themselves as mere conventions, the typal naturally passes into the conventional age.

In the conventional age, the external expression of the spirit or the idea become more important than the ideal, the cloth or body more important than the person, the form always prevails and the spirit diminishes. In this stage, Aurobindo says, "when the truth we strive to arrive at is not realised, not accomplished, but the exiquity of it eked out or its full appearance limited by an artistic form and what we have of the reality has begun to fossilize and is doomed to be lost in a hard mass of rule and order and convention".[4] In the typal stage in India, birth does not seem to have much importance in the social order, for faculty and capacity prevailed, but afterwards, as the type fixed itself, its maintenance by education and tradition became necessary, and education and tradition naturally fixed themselves in a hereditary groove. Birth and profession were together the double bond of the hereditary convention at a time when people were faithful to the spirit of the law. This established rigidity of the typal stage deteriorates into the economic exploitation of the caste in the conventional stage. Aurobindo says, "In the full economic period of caste the priest and the pandit masquerade under the name of the *Brāhmin*, the aristocrat and feudal baron under the name of the *Kṣatriya* the trader and money-getter under the name of the *Viaśya*, the half-fed labourer and economic serf under the name of the *śūdra*".[5] When this economic basis also breaks down, the unclean and diseased decrepitude of the degraded caste system becomes fatally harmful to the general interests of the society. The Hindu orthodox idealists of the period during the advent of the GAUTAMA BUDDHA were of the opinion that a perfectly regulated society devoutly obedient to the wise yoke of the śāstra was the golden age. But, Aurobindo remarks, that such a society disciplined from

4. *Ibid.*, p. 9.

5. *Ibid.*, p. 8.

without is only "copper age and not the true golden"[6] not the free *satya yuga* or ideal life as that of symbolic age.

In the conventional age, the most powerful spiritual personalities tried ceaselessly to keep the soul of the people alive but failed to resuscitate the ancient free force and truth in a conventionalised, stagnating society. In a generation or two, the iron grip of conventionalism has fallen on the new movement and annexed the names of its founders. We see it in Europe in the repeated moral tragedy of ecclesiasticism and catholic monasticism. When the gulf between truth and convention becomes intolerable, there arrives a period when intellectuals arise nad rejcct fiercely symbol, type and convention, strike at the walls of the prisonhouse and seek by their reason, moral sense, the truth that the society has lost or buried in its whited sepulchres. Then, the age of individualist blossoms. It is the age of protestantism, age of reason, revolt, progress and- freedom.

An individualistic age of human society is the result of the corruption and failure of the conventioual, and a revolt against the reign of the petrified typal society. Only in Europe the Individualism has exercised its full sway; the East has received its influence only by contact with Europe. Beginning as a revolt of reason, individualism culminated in a triumphal progress of physical science. In conventional age, a religion is imposed upon man "On the letter of an ancient book, the infallible dictum of a Pope, the tradition of a church, the learned casuistry of schoolmen and pundits, conclaves of ecclesiastics, heads of monastic orders".[7] What is true in old authorities is no longer of any value, because its words are learnedly or ignorantly repeated but its real sense is no longer lived except at most by a few";[8] one finds everywhere divine rights, established privileges; sanctified tyrannies, which are evidently armed with an oppressive power

6. *Ibid.*, p. 9.
7. *Ibid.*, p. 12.
8. *Ibid.*, p. 12.

and justify themselves by long prescription but seem to have no real claim or title to exist."[9] In such an age, an individual is constrained to revolt against every claim of authority with the eye of a resolute inquisition, and is compelled to destroy falsehood and lay bare a new foundation of truth.

In the East, the individualistic movement mostly took shape in producing simply a series of religious reformers, illumined saints, new bodies of beliefs; in the West it manifested in atheistic and secular movements of society.

Aurobindo acknowledges that the evolutlon of Europe was not that of reformation but that of renaissence necessitated by the circumstantial forces. Renaissance gave back to Europe on the one hand the Greek mind, i.e, search for the first principles, delighted intellectual scrutiny of the facts of life by the force of direct observation and individual reasoning, and on the other the Roman practicality and discipline. Nevertheless, Aurobindo vehemently decries the predominance of reason and says that the unrestrained use of individual judgement without any outer standard or any generally recognisable source of truth is perilous experiment for an imperfect race. It is likely to lead rather to a continual fluctuation and disorder of opinion than to a progressive unfolding of the truth of things. In short, mere exercise of reason on one's part will not render one higher values of life.

Aurobindo says that in each individualist age, rational thirst manifests in search of two desiderata, viz. (i) a general criterion of truth by which the individual judgment of all can be tested without any constraint and (ii) some principle of social order which shall be equally founded on a universally recognisable truth of things.

Aurobindo maintains that the attempt to govern and organise human life by verifiable scientific laws which all can

9. *Ibid*, pp. 12-13.

observe is the culminating movement of European civilisation. It has been the fulfilment and triumph of the individualistic age of human society; this aspect is likely to be its end, the cause of the death of individualism, and burial among the monuments of the past.

Most important of all, the individualistic age of Europe has discovered two important idea-forces, viz. (i) democratic spirit and (ii) inclination towards spiritual ideals. The individualistic age has revealed that all members of the society have a right to the full life and the full development of which they are individually capable, and social well-being does not mean the splendour and power of one or two classes. That individual is not merely a member of group but is a soul, which has to fulfil its own individual truth and do its assigned part in the collective life. Europe has intellectual and superficial recognition of these significant ideas, whereas Asia has accepted these fully and consequently moulded the past and present social phases.

The individualistic age sought liberty as the ideal of the life of nations and strove to affirm the ideal of mutual respect for each other's freedom as the right conduct of nations to one another. In the recent European struggle, the liberty of nations was set forth as an ideal and war also was waged to achieve this ideal. Aurbindo observes, 'The development of international law into an effective force which will restrain the egoism of nations as the social law restrains the egoism of individuals is the solution which attracts and seems the most practicable to most when they seek to deal with the difficulties of the future".[10]

Science investigating life discovered that the basic principle of all living is to make use of life environment for self-preservation. This led to the selfish will of individuals to survive as long as possible to become powerful and dominate the environment and fellow beings. Philosophies like Nietzsche's, certain

10. *Ibid.*, p. 49.

forms of anarchism, and certain forms of imperialism have been largely influenced by this type of ideas.

Science investigating life has equally discovered that the individual life is best secured by association with others and subjection to a law of communal self-development. Aurobindo observes: "What nature seeks to preserve is not the individual but the type and in her scale of values, the pack, herd, hive or swarm takes precedence over the individual animal or insect and the human group over the individual human being".[11] Modern collectivism derives its Victorian strength from this phenomenon of nature. Aurobindo maintains that the German mind combined both these concepts and affirmed the entire subordination of the individual to the community, nation or state; on the other hand, the egoistic self-assertion of the individual nation as against others constituted German trend of life.

In short, the individualistic age is a radical attempt to get back the truth overlaid or distorted by conventions. A revolutionary reconstruction of religion, philosophy, science, art and society is its last inevitable income.

Subjective age is a stage of society when men try to gaze deeper, what is behind the outside and below the surface and therefore strive to live from within. The governing idea of objectivism is that life is to be guided by a law outside determined by the individual reason and enforced by the individual will; a mechanical process of management and perfection is its conception of practice. Subjectivism proceeds from within, and everything is viewed from developing consciousness. Reason and will are construed to be only effective movements of the self. Subjectivism asserts the supremacy of the life-impulse or the essential will to be in opposition to the claims of the intellect, Aurobindo says: "The whole impulse of subjectivism is to get at the self, to live in the self, to see by the self, to live out the truth of the self internally and externally but always from an internal initiation and centre".[12]

11. *Ibid.*, p. 49.
12. *Ibid.*, p. 52.

True subjectivism teaches us that we are a higher self than our ego or our members, secondly, that we are in our life and being not only ourselves but all others. Aurobindo maintains that self-knowledge most comprehensively embraces and accounts for the various aspects of the world process and it combines both the interests of individuals as well as the society. Aurobindo says, "neither the separate growth of the individual nor the all-absorbing growth of the group can be the ideal, but an equal, simultaneous and as far as may be, parallel development of both, in which each helps to fulfill the other"[13] According to Aurobindo, subjective age leads to this culmination. Aurobindo holds that the closer touch attempted with the physical entity must lead to the ultimate discovery that man is inwardly a soul and a conscious power of the divine and that the evocation of this real man within is the right object of education. That was the knowledge which the ancients sought to express through religious and social symbolism. According to Aurobindo, a SUBJECTIVE IS A ROAD OF RETURN TO THE LOST KNOWLEDGE. In education, subjective standpoint is to know the psychology of the child as it grows into man and to found our systems of teaching and training upon that basis. Subjectivism has a definite way of dealing with criminals; the most advanced societies do not consider a criminal any longer as a law-breaker, but there is a growing attempt on the part of the concerned to understand him and to change him from within rather than crush him from without.

When the subjective age evolves from the individualistic age, the first danger is that the individualistic egoism is transformed into the more momentous error of a great communal egoism. The individual seeking for the law of being lies in the recognition of truth that the ego is not the self and there is one self of all and the soul is a portion of that universal divinity.

Aurobindo says that the will to be, the will to power, the will to know are perfectly legitimate and their satisfaction is

13. *Ibid.*, p. 53,

the true law of our existence and to repress them improperly is to mutilate our being and dry up the sources of life and growth. But the will to be in us exhausts ourselves in the dangerous attempt to live by the destruction and exploitation of others. Aurobindo says, "... generally, to devour others is to register ourself also as a subject and predestined victim of death".[14]

All organised lives, all self-conscious egos are in a state of war, either overt or covert, either complete or partial. The survival of the best is secured, if the highest advance of the race is made possible. Germany's self-vision was that she was the best, and the right law of reason according to German conception was to fulfil the collective German ego and to secure its growth and domination wss the right law of reason. From this egoistic self-vision there flowed a number of logical consequences.

First, since the individual is only a cell of collectivity, his life must be entirely subservient to the efficient life of the nation. In any endeavour, the collectivity should take the initiative and the individuals should execute it.

Secondly, the service of state and community alone is the absolute rule of morality.

Thirdly, since the survival of the best is the highest good of mankind and the survival of the best is secured by the elimination of the unfit and the assimilation of the less fit, the conquest of the world by German culture is the straight path of human progress.

Aurobindo concludes with his remarks on such communal egoism. Woe to the race if it blinds its conscience and buttresses up its animal egoism with the old justification, "for the Gods have shown that *KARMA* is not a jest"[15]

14. *Ibid.*, p. 39.
15. *Ibid.*, p. 46.

INDIAN COINAGE

Prof. P. THIRUGNANASAMBANDHAN

The introduction of coin is a turning point in the history of human civilization. The handicaps from which the barter system suffered were removed by the introduction of coins with a standard weight and value though these things varied from place to place and time to time.

In the Ṛg Veḍic period 'paśu' or cow was a medium of exchange. The English word 'pecuniary' that is used to-day goes back to the Indo European parent form *peku from which the word 'paśu' meaning cattle is derived. In the Vedic age the Soma plant was exchanged for kine. We learn that Janaka gifted cows to brahmins well versed in the metaphysics of Brahman. But in the later Vedic period we find references to gold śatamāna. Manu refers to silver śatamāna also called Niṣka, which originally meant a necklace. Manu and Yājña-valkya give the relative weight of coins such as kṛṣṇala or Rati, māṣa dhāraṇa and śatamāna. We learn from Pāṇini that the word 'Rūpya' denoted the struck money which has a form or *rūpa*. Kauṭilya speaks about Rūpya-rūpa, the silver coin. The Muslims called it Rūpiya and the same was adopted by the European settlers and we now have the 'rupee'. Kauṭilya and Manu use the term 'paṇa' which again is in use in the sense of money in this part of the country. These terms have a Pan Indian currency.

In South India two kinds of seeds 'Kaḷañju' and 'Mañjāḍi' were used in the weight system and according to Smith the former is considered as equivalent to ten mañjāḍis. The smaller copper coin of the South was called 'kāsu' spelt 'cash' by the

Speech delivered while presiding over the Inaugural function of the 71st Annual Conference of the Numismatic Society of India held at Madras on 22—12—1983.

Europeans. This is not to be confused with the English word 'cash' meaning 'money'.

Prof. Rapson has established that the shape, weight, symbols and denominations of Indian coins point to the fact that they are indigenous products and not as some hold that the Indians owe their system of coinage to Phoenicians. This is not to deny certain changes in the form of Indian coinage at a later date. The coins issued by the Indo-Bactrian rulers led to the introduction in Indian coins the practice of placing the portraits of the king on the obverse of the coins. The introduction of the figures of Gods and Goddesses on the reverse of the coins and the inscriptions thereon are the other new features that are sought to be attributed to the foreign influence.

We do not know how many hundreds of coins were melted and made into jewels and vessels. The loss to the historian is incalculable as in the case of palm-leaf manuscripts thrown into rivers or destroyed by ravages of time and by moths. Even among the coins now extant not all have their dates and several of them have no legends indicating the names of kings or other authorities that issued them. Yet from a study of Indian coins available we are able to have a glimpse of the monetary system that was in vogue in the several kingdoms of our land at different periods.

In ancient Indian literary and epigraphical records we come across denominations of coins such as Kārṣāpaṇa, Niṣka, Suvarṇa. Purāṇa, Dhāraṇa, Paṇa etc. Arthaśāstra refers to the issue of paṇa, silver coins of four denominations, viz. paṇa, half paṇa, quarter paṇa and one eighth paṇa. Varāhamihira, author of Bṛhatsamhitā gives the denominations of coins as above giving their relative value while dealing with the value of pearls.

In the Chola period the usual standard weight was the Kalañju of 20 mañjāḍis equal to 72 grains. This is the counter-

part of Niṣka of North India. Madurāntakadevan māḍai, the Tamil equivalent of māṣa, represented the standard of fineness for testing gold and half of this māḍai was the kāsu issued by Raja Raja I.

From inscriptional evidence we understand that the gold coins of varied purity or māṟṟu, were used in commercial transactions in the Chola period, the fineness of gold varying as 7 1/8, 8 1/2, 9 and 9 3/4 māṟṟu, the maximum fineness being fine gold of 10 1/2 māṟṟu or 'pattarai māṟṟu cempoṉ or 'āṇippoṉ' as it is called in Tamil.

A study of the material, type and palaeographs of the coins is bound to yield positive results in supplementing the account we are able to gather from literary including Purāṇic, epigraphical and other source materials for the reconstruction of Indian history. A few examples may be noticed.

That Indians had contact with peoples of distant lands even in the pre-Christian era is known from the hoard of Chinese coins discovered in Paṭṭukkōṭṭai taluk of Tanjore district. A hoard of coins discovered in Āṇḍipaṭṭi village in Chengam taluk in North Arcot district containing legends in Tamil Brāhmī assigned to 2nd or 3rd eentury A.D. is of help in comparing it with the palaeographic features of the rock inscriptions of the corresponding period. This is helpful in studying the development of Tamil script.

It has been acknowledged by historians that trade between the Dravidian kingdoms and Rome was brisk during the early centuries of the Christian era and that in exchange for pepper, spices, pearls etc. payment was made in *dināras* found in the neighbourhood of Madurai and other places. This corroborates the several literary references to the Yavana artisans working in Tamil Nad and the Yavana mercenaries serving the Pandya rulers as guards on the lofty towers of Madurai. Cilappatikāram refers, to this in the lines — கடிமதில் வாயில் காவலின் சிறந்த அடல்வாள் யவனர்க்கு அயிராது புக்கு (14.66-67).

Writing on 'Ancient Indian contacts with Western lands' Prof. K. A. Nilakantha Sastri in his book 'The Cholas' refers to three missions to Roman emperors in A.D. 336, 361 and 531 and observes, 'the coinage bears unmistakable testimony to the reality of Roman influence and the word 'dīnāra' was commonly used to mean a gold coin, a term which occurs in Pañcatantra and Rājataraṅgiṇī'. So abiding was the early Roman influence in South India that even after the 9th century A.D. gifts of *dīnāras* and *drammas* are found recorded in inscriptions.

The coins issued by Huvisha of the Kushan dynasty contain the figures of Umā, Skanda-kumāra, Mahāsena etc. This indicates how the conquerors themselves were conquered by Indian culture to the extent that they revered Indian Gods. This shows also the type of religious denomination that was popular in that territory at that time.

In the same way the Yaudheya coins containing the figure of Kārttikeya and peacock, the coin of Harshavardhana showing the figures of Śiva and Pārvatī seated on Nandi, reveals the state of religion that was prevalent during that period. We find literary corroboration in the Harṣacarita of Bāṇa wherein he is referred to as Parameśvara, which also contains a vivid description of the Royal preceptor Bhairavācārya, a staunch Śivaguru. Epigraphical reference to the Royal title 'parama-māheśvaraḥ maheśvara iva' attributed to Śrī Harṣa further corroborates the numismatical symbol of Śiva-pārvati.

Some of the Sātavāhana coins contain the symbol of a double mast ship which points to the maritime trade that was carried on in the early centuries of the Christian era.

Legends inscribed in Sanskrit and symbols like the sacrificial horse in the Gupta coins corroborate the historical fact of Sanskrit patronage and Brahmanic revivalism in the golden age of the Guptas.

The coins issued by Muslim rulers usually bear legends on both sides but carry no symbols. Generally on the obverse of

the coin the *Kalima* or the creed of Islam in Arabic can be seen i.e. lā ilāhi il Allāḥ Muhammad Rasūl Allāḥ' – 'Allāh is the one and only God and Muhammad is His prophet.' On the reverse the name and titles of the king, the place of minting and date are found. There is an interesting silver coin of Mahmud Gazni the reverse of which contains the above details in Sanskrit – Avyaktam ekam Muhamadaḥ avatāraḥ nṛpatiḥ Mahamudaḥ Avyaktīya nāmni ayam ṭaṅkaḥ Mahamuda-pure ghaṭitaḥ Tājikīyana Samvatā A.H. 418 or 419.' Reference is made here to Allah, the one God by the terms 'Avyaktam', 'Ekam' 'the Formless One' the usual attributes of Brahman of Hindu Metaphysics. Reference is made to the King Muhamad, Lahore the place of minting and the Arabic Hijri year. The use of Sanskrit by a ruler of the Gazni dynasty shows how by passage of time the Muslim rulers became mellowed and responsive to the sentiments of the Hindu subjects. In the same way we find in some of the coins of Akbar, figures of Rāma and Sītā reinforcing the other sources of information regarding the ecclecticism practised by Akbar.

In the same way political events are suggested by the titles of kings in certain legends. The Dhavaleśvaram hoard of coins contains a set wherein the title 'malaināḍu koṇḍa' assumed by Rājakesari Rājādhirāja I appears. They were issued obviously to commemorate the victory in the war against Kerala, the malaināḍu.

Reference is made in the Chola inscription of Parāntaka I (937 A.D.). to the then prevalent Īlakkāsu. This reflects the historical event of the invasion by Parāntaka of Madurai and Ceylon. Divākaram, the oldest Tamil lexicon gives the word 'īlam' as a synonym of 'gold'. Perhaps Īḻakkāsu was the gold coin as distinguished from Īlakkarunkāśu, the copper coin. The Gold 'māḍai', coin bearing the legend Uttama Chola, who assumed the title Madurāntaka as a consequence of having conquered Madura, contains the figures of a seated tiger with a fish in front of it suggesting the above exploit.

It has been stated on p. 50 of the book entitled 'Coins' by Parameshvari Lal Gupta that it was suggested by a scholar that coins wers issued by the Kalabhra dynasty during the so-called dark period in the history of Tamil Nadu from the 3rd century to about the 7th century. According to the scholar-whose name is not given - the earlier coins bear the inscriptions Achuvikatha on one side and Kalabhara on the other and on the later coins only one side bears one of the above two inscriptions and on the other side a legend is impressed over some animal motif or the figure of a Jain tirthankara or some Hindu God or Goddess. Who the scholar is and what the source of information is has not been mentioned in the book. Whether this suggestion has since been scrutinised and any conclusion drawn is not known. If some light can be thrown on this, it would be welcome.

It would be appropriate to make a brief reference to the pioneering efforts made in the study of coins in Tamilnad. Sir T. Desikachari, one of those pioneering numismatists, read a paper on the coins as early as 1888 before the Madras Literary Society. Later in 1916 he delivered a lecture under the auspices of the same Society under the presidentship of Lord Pentland, then Governor of Madras of which we have a record. The distinguished gathering included Mrs. Annie Besant, Justice Kumaraswami Sastri, C. P, Ramaswami Aiyar, Bhavanandam Pillai and others. He had a good collection of coins that attracted scholars and he shared his expertise with them. The first comprehensive treatment of South Indian Coins was due to Sir Walter Elliott who embodied the results of his life long study of South Indian coins in his contributions to the *Numismata Orientalia*, first publlshed in book form in 1886 now reprinted in India in 1975 under the title 'Coins of Southern India'. In modern times scholars like A. S, Altekar, D. C. Sircar, Bajpai, T. V. Mahalingam, T. Balakrishna Nair to mention a few have made significant contributions to the study of Indian coins.

The bearing of the coins of the Southern kingdoms beginning with the Chera, Chola and Pāṇḍya down to the advent of the European colonisers, on the political, social, economic and cultural aspects of life needs to be fully worked out,

There has been close contact between our country and South and South East Asian countries from a very early period to the extent of influencing their system of administration, language, religion, art and architecture. It is worthwhile to examine the extent to which, there was any influence on their coinage as well.

THE SPECIAL FEATURES OF ŚAIVA SIDDHĀNTA

C. N. SINGARAVELU, M.A.

Among the living religions in the world Śaivism is considered to be the most ancient religion. Its origin is pre-Aryan and pre-Vedic. The excavations in the Sindh Valley at Mohenjo Daro and Harappa show that the religion of the people of that valley about 5000 years ago was Śaivism or something akin to it. Some of the objects discovered in the excavations were the figures of Śivalingams, the sacred bulls, the Mother Goddess, figures in yogic posture etc.—which are all connected with Lord Śiva to this day. Sir John Marshall who was in charge of the excavations said :-

"Among the many revelations that Mohenjo Daro and Harappa have had in stoıe for us none perhaps is more remarkable than the discovery that Śaivism has a history going back to the chalco-lithic age or perhaps even further still and it thus takes its place as the most ancient living faith in the world."

Religion of the Tamils

Though Śaivism belongs to the entire India, it has been developed into three distinct schools. They are :—

(1) The Śaiva Siddhānta of South India (2) Vīra Śaivism found in North Karnātaka and Mysore and (3) The Pratyabhijñā school of Śaivism prevalent in Kashmir. The last one has great affinities with the Advaita of Śaṅkara.

Śaiva Siddhānta may be considered to be the religion of the Tamils as its roots can be traced not only to the Vedas and Āgamas, but also the most ancient Tamil literature such as the Sangam literature and Tholkāppiam. The ideas are also embedded in the proverbs and the common talk of the masses.

For example the terms Āṇavam, Viṉai and Māyai are in common usage in the language of the Tamils.

Some of the English and other European scholars who have studied in depth, Tamil and Śaiva Siddhānta have no doubt that this philosophy has been developed by the Tamils. Rev. Dr. G. U. Pope said[1] :-

"Śaiva Siddhānta Philosophy is the choicest product of the Dravidian intellect. The Śaiva Siddhānta system is the most elaborate influential and undoubtedly the most intrinsically valuable of all the religions of India. It is peculiarly the South Indian and Tamil religion...Śaivism is the old prehistoric religion of South India, essentially existing from pre-Aryan times and holds sway over the hearts of the Tamil people".

Rev. W. Gowdie said[2] :-

"In the religious world the Śaiva system is heir to all that is most ancient in South India. It is the religion of the Tamil people by the side of which every other form is comparatively of foreign origin...Śaiva Siddhānta represents the high water-mark of Indian thought and Indian life."

Thiru S. S. Suryanarayana Sastri says[3]

"There is however no doubt that Siddhānta has its stronghold in the South. And it has there received certain developments at the hands of Tamil writers and commentators which are worth noting".

The Tamils are essentially practical and this is reflected in Śaiva Siddhānta as developed by the Tamils. The twelfth Sūtra of Śivajñānabodham is an instance in point. In this Sūtra, Meykaṇḍār says that even Jīvanmuktas after washing off their *malas* associate themselves with fellow Bhaktas and worship

1. G. U. Pope's 'Thiruvāchakam' LXXIV.
2. Article in the Christian College Magazine XXII.
3. Essay 19 in 'Śaiva Siddhāntam' Vol. I edited by T. N. Rāmachandran and published by Dharmapura Ādhīnam (1984).

their forms and also the other forms in the temples as God Himself. This is considered necessary to maintain themselves in their position. S. S. S. Sastri says.[1] "It is thought that the Tamilian is primarily practical; that, though not impervious to mysticism he seeks to drive it in harness with his practical sense; that his philosophy, though it may bake no bread, will yet keep it in eatable condition. Some justification for this position may be found on a comparison of the Sanskrit and Tamil Śivajñānabodha."

Vedas and Agamas

The acknowledged sources of Śaiva Siddhānta are some of its special features. While all the other Hindu systems of philosophy derive their sources from the Prasthāna Traya, Śaiva Siddhānta does not acknowledge the authority of the Bhagavad Gītā. It gives more importance to the Āgamas than to the Vedas.

There is a view that the Āgamas which are now in Sanskrit are translations of Tamil originals, which constituted an altogether independent body of doctrines, that the translators into Sanskrit assimilated the views as far as they could of their own Vedic religion, that when owing to many causes partly natural and partly political, the Tamil originals were irretrievably lost, the Sanskrit translations alone survived.

The Twelve Thirumurais and the Fourteen Śāstras

After all is said about Vedas and Āgamas the fact remains that the canonical works acknowledged and revered in practice by the Śaivites, to which they turn every day for spiritual sustenance and inspiration are the twelve Thirumurais and the fourteen Śaiva Siddhānta Śāstras.

The twelve Thirumurais are:-

The songs of Thirugñānasambandar constitute the first three Thirumurais, of Thirunāvukkarasar the fourth, fifth and sixth

1. "The Śivādvaita of Śrikaṇṭha" by S. S. Suryanarayana Sastri 1972 Edition page 4.

Thirumurais, of Sundarar seventh Thirumurai. These seven Thirumurais are popularly known as Thēvāram.

The songs of Māṇikkavāchagar known as Thiruvāchagam and his Thirukkōvaiyār constitute the eighth Thirumurai. Thiruvisaippā and Thiruppallāṇḍu sung by nine saints beginning with Thirumāligai Thēvar comprise the ninth Thirumurai.

Thirumandiram of Thirumūlar is classified as tenth Thirumurai.

The songs of twelve saints including Thiruvālavāyuḍaiyār, Kāraikkāl ammaiyār etc., constitute the eleventh Thirumurai.

The Thiruthoṇḍar Purāṇam popularly known as Periyapurāṇam of Cēkkizhār forms the twelfth Thirumurai.

The Fourteen Śaiva Siddhānta Śāstras are :–

(1) Thiruvundiyār by Uyyavanda Deva Nāyanār of Tiruviyalur (2) Thirukkaliṟṟuppaḍiyār by Uyyavanda Deva Nāyanār of Tirukkaḍavūr (3) Śivajñānabodham by Meykaṇḍa Deva Nāyanār (4) Śivajñāna Siddhiyār by Aruḷnandi Deva Nāyanār of Tirutturaiyūr. (5) Irupāvirupatu by Aruḷnandi Deva Nāyanār of Tirutturaiyūr. (6) Uṇmaiviḷakkam by Manavāchagam Kaḍanda Deva Nāyanār (7) Śivaprakāśam (8) Tiruaruṭpayan (9) Vinā Veṇbā (10) Poṟṟipahroḍai (11) Koḍikkavi (12) Neñjuviḍu Tūtu (13) Sankarpa Nirākaraṇam and (14) Uṇmaineṟi Viḷakkam by Umāpati Deva Nāyanār of Koṟṟavankuḍi.

The Place of Reason

The important place given to reason in Śaiva Siddhānta is one of its special features. Reason is not opposed to inspiration or direct experience. What we have experienced by Divine Grace can be established by Reason.

Śivajñāna Siddhiyār says that "It is possible by the grace of God, to know Him by the teachings contained in the Āgamas *and also by proper argumentation* and to perceive Him in our heart by Jñāna Sādhana, our doubt having vanished and to get the darkness of Māyā removed and dwell in the company of

the Holy (1) Siddhiyār thus gives a high place to logic and reasoning in understanding God.

After the invocation and preface, the very first chapter of Supakkam of Śivajñāna Siddhiyār deals with Epistemology (Aḷavai). The author gives a critique of valid knowledge before he proceeds to study the objects of valid knowledge. To interpret the verses of Siddhiyār or the Sūtras of Śivajñāna bodham correctly one has to depend on the rules and laws acceptable to reason and logic as set form in this chapter. The logical method is thus integral to this system.

The Siddhāntin reduces the means of knowledge (Pramāṇas) to three namely pratyakṣa, anumāna and śabda. Pratyakṣa is direct experience by the senses, anumāna is inference; and śabda is verbal testimony of the Āgamas. But behind all these is the soul's Intelligence (Ātma cit Śakti) which is the basic pramaṇa or the means of valid knowledge. This positing of Atma Citsakti as the basic pramaṇa is unique to Śaiva Siddhānta.

Śaiva Siddhānta encourages independant enquiry by each individual to find out the truth for himself and says that you need not accept anything on authority however ancient it may be or reject anything new because it is new.

Umāpati Śivam says in his Śivaprakāśam :–

"Whatever is old cannot be deemed to be good (on account of its antiquity alone), and whatever book comes forth to-day cannot be judged ill because of its newness......Men who have no capacity to judge of the faults excellences and substantial worth of a production, will praise it if many admire it and will condemn it on hearing others speak ill of it, because they have no opinion for themselves".

The Catholicity of Śaivism

Śaiva Siddhānta does not condemn any other religion or philosophy as utterly false. All men are not equal. They differ in mental and emotional make up, in temperament etc. from

place to place and from age to age. God in his fullness of wisdom has provided each with the religion best suited to him.

Arulnandi Śivācāriyār says in his Śivajñāna Siddhiyār that Lord Śiva is the goal and substance of each of the six systems of Philosophy.[1] He also says that whatever God you may propitiate Lord Śiva only appears through that God and answers to your prayers.[2] Nāvukkarasar says[3] "Even if narrow minded persons found a new religion out of mere spite, it is acceptable to God."

Śaiva Siddhanta believes that true Religion is one which comprises within itself the best of all Religions in proper perspective without denouncing other religions. Śivajñāna Siddhiyar says[4]:–

"Religions and Postulates and text books are various and conflict one with the other. If it is asked which is the true religion, which the true postulate, and which the true book, the answer is–

"That is the true Religion, Postulate and Book, which not conflicting with this or that, comprises reasonably everything within its folds. Hence all these are comprised in the Vedas and Śaivāgamas."

Three Eternal Categories

The fundamental postulate of Śaiva Siddhānta, is that there are three categories which are eternally existent. This postulate is also unique to Śaiva Siddhānta. The three categories are Pati (God), Paśu (Souls) and Pāśa (Bondage or matter). All that exists can be classified under these three categories. There is nothing which falls outside these. God is all knowing. Souls are capable of knowing. Pāśa is incapable of knowing and is inert. Soul occupies the middle position.

1. Sivajñāna Siddhiyār, Supakkam(, Stanza – 2.
2. do. do. do. 112.
3. Thirumurai IV stanza 586.
4. Śivajñāna Siddhiyār, Supakkam, stanza – 265.

The three categories though eternally coexistent are inter-connected. Pati is the Prime mover. There is a common saying in Tamil which says that 'even an atom cannot move without the direction of God.' God is connected to the soul in the same way that soul is connected to the body. An analogy is given to indicate roughly the connection between Pati, Paśu and Pāśa. If the entire space occupied by the sea is Pati, the water occupying the space is Paśu and the salt in the water is Paśa. The relationship is expressed as Vyapaka, Vyapya and Vyapti respectively.

Pati or God

According to Śaiva Siddhanta God is both impersonal and Personal. He is transcendant and immanent. He is not merely a metaphysical Absolute, but is Personal and intimate. The words in Tamil representing God are philosophic in content. The word 'Kaṭavuḷ' in Tamil is made up of two terms namely 'Kaṭa' which means that which is beyond or transcendant and 'Uḷ' which means that He is immanent. 'Iṟaivaṉ' means that which abides in everything. 'Iyavuḷ' means that which directs everything.

Sat-Cit-Ānanda

The attributes of God can be summed up in three words, namely, Sat, Cit and Ānanda, and He is therefore known as Saccidānanda. Sat is Existence, cit is Intelligence and Ānanda is Supreme Bliss. God alone is Sat, for He exists in his own right. He alone is Cit, for He is self-luminous. He alone is Ānanda for His bliss is unlimited.

The five Functions of God (Pañcakṛtya)

God does five functions with reference to the world and soul. They are (1) Creation (Sṛṣṭi) (2) Preservation (Sthiti) (3) Destruction (Samhara) (4) Obscuration (Tirobhava) and (5) Bestowal of Grace (Anugraha). The figure of Lord Naṭarāja represents the five functions of God and it is a unique conception of the Tamils.

Creation

The theory of creation in Śaiva Siddhânta is unique. All the five acts of God including creation are the acts of Grace. They are done for the redemption of the Soul from Āṇava mala which is connate to the soul. It is not a mere spontaneous playful act (lila) as some philosophers say. God provides the soul with body (Tanu) the inner instruments in the body Karaṇa) the world to live in and act (Bhuvana) and the things for enjoyment (Bhoga). Saiva Siddhānta believes in *Sat-Kārya-Vāda* according to which nothing can come from nothing. It is a theory of causation according to which an effect is held to exist in its cause. God does not therefore create the things mentioned above from nothing or out of Himself. They are created from Māya which is the material cause of the universe. Thus, creation is furnishing the soul with body, internal and external organs of the body, the world and the objects of experience which are all evolutes of the primordial matter called Maya.

Preservation is the maintenance of the Phenomenal world, including body etc., in the state of Kārya māya for the enjoyment of the souls. This is necessary for the souls to do Karma and evolve.

Destruction is the involution of the Phenomenal world, body etc., back to the state of Karaṇa maya. This is necessary for giving the souls a period of rest.

Obscuration is veiling God for the soul so that the soul may in the course of experience of the world wear off its 'innate impurity'.

The Conferment of Grace is the final act by which the soul is liberated from the cycle of births and deaths and is united to God.

Though these acts are thus distinguished, every act is an act of Grace by God for the benefit of soul. The first three acts relate to matter and the last two relate to soul.

God's Relationship with the Soul

The way in which God's relationship with the soul is classified is unique to Śaiva Siddhānta. God helps the soul (i) by standing apart from the soul (வேறுதல்) (ii) by being one with the soul (ஒன்றுதல்) and (iii) by being together with the soul (உடனுதல்) in its activities.

This position is explained by the following three similes:-

1. Sun's rays are necessary for the eyes to function. But the Sun is apart and is different from the eyes. Even so though God is indispensable for the soul to function, God is different from the soul. (வேறுதல்).

2. Though life is different from the body it is one with the body and indistinguishable from it. Even so though God is different from the soul He is one with it. (ஒன்றுதல்)

3. When the eye sees an object, the self identifies itself with the eye and sees the object. Even so, God is together with the soul in all its activities (உடனுதல்).

To sum up, God is *different* from the soul as they are two separate categories, *one* with the soul by virtue of their inseparable association, *together* with the soul by virtue of the fact that God is the driving force behind the soul.

(கலப்பினுல் ஒன்றுய், பொருள் தன்மையால் வேறுய், தொழிற் பாட்டால் உடனுமாய்)

Pāśu or Soul

According to Śaiva Siddhānta Souls are infinite in number. They form a separate category and not a mere 'prakāra' or adjunct to God. The nature of the soul occupies an important place in Śaiva Siddhānta and it gives the key to the moral and spiritual progress of the soul. As we have already indicated, soul occupies the middle position between God on the one hand and Pāśa or Bondage on the other. God is all knowing and Pāśa is inert and incapable of knowing. Soul is neither

the one nor the other, but is capable of knowing with the aid of God.

God does not experience the world as He is all inclusive and there is no need for Him to experience anything. The world cannot experience anything as it is inert. The Soul which is in the middle position can alone experience both God and the world.

Two Fundamental Chracteristics of the Soul

The two basic qualities of the Soul are (i) that it cannot stand alone and (ii) that it takes on the qualities of that to which it is attached. Soul in the Sakala (bound) state, that is, the state in which soul undergoes births and deaths attaches itself to the malas (impuities) and takes on their qualities. In the '*Śuddha*' state, that is in the state of release, it attaches itself to God and takes on His qualities. The Soul is compared to a crystal which takes on the character of the object placed near it.

This quality of the soul, that it assumes the nature of that to which it is attached, is very fundamental and is the basis for all progress of the soul. All that is required of the soul for its evolution is to disengage itself from the three malas and to get itself attached to the Supreme Being. A Siddhāntic text says:-

> "Why struggle with a bad habit.
> All that is required is to cultivate a good habit
> With God's Grace"—Thiru Undiyār v. 2.

Pāśa or Bondage

Āṇavam

The conception of Āṇavam is unique to Śaiva Siddhānta. It is not mere absence of knowledge or avidyā. It is something more positive. It is called 'Mūla Malam' or basic impurity. It is also called 'Sahaja Mala' or innate impurity. This impurity is connate to the soul. The meaning of the word Āṇavam is

itself significant. The nature of the soul is that it is pervasive. Āṇavam is so called because it atomises the soul so to say:

In the 'Kevala' state of the Soul, that is when the soul is encased, as it were, in Āṇavam only, Āṇavam covers up completely the Soul's consciousness and the soul is in utter darkness. In this state the soul is devoid of its cognitive, emotive and conative powers.

Soul is brought into association with Māyā (and consequently Karma) by the Grace of God in order that it may have experience of the world and evolve. By this experience, Soul gains limited knowledge. This state, as already stated is called the 'Sakala' state. During this state Āṇavam perverts the knowledge of the soul and is the cause for egoism, namely the sense of 'I' and 'mine'. However the soul is set on the road to final liberation by its association with Māyai and Karma. Though Āṇavam, Māyā and Karma are clubbed as Pāśa or bond, the latter two serve to weaken the power of Āṇavam. Māyā illumines the soul to a limited extent like a lamp which provides light during the night until the day dawns, that is, until the soul receives enlightenment from God.

Āṇavam is not the quality (guṇa) of the soul. For in that case when Āṇavam is removed, the substance of which it is the quality namely the soul will also be destroyed. It is an original impurity of the soul, like verdigris in copper to be overcome ultimately by the grace of God.

Karma or Viṉai

The good and bad actions done by the embodied Souls are called Karma. A thought or word has the same effect as action. Hence Karma is done by thought, word or deed. Every deed done by thought word or action leaves an imprint in the soul which is carried forward from birth to birth. A good action or 'Aṟam' results in 'Puṇya' (merit) which yields pleasure in this or subsequent births. In the same way a bad action or 'Maṟam' results in 'Pāpa' (sin) which yields pain in this and subsequent births. Thus, there are three stages in

which the cycle of Karma works. The good and bad deeds done by one during a given birth constitute 'Āg mvam'. The deeds disappear; but their effects in the form of 'Punya' and 'Pāpa' are stored up in a subtle way with the intellect of the self (comparable to vāsanas' or impressions) and they are called 'Sañcitam'. It is the result of good and bad deeds done in this and in previous births. When a part of 'Sañcitam' (Puṇya and Pāpa) becomes ripe for enjoyment it issues as pleasure and pain and they are called prarabdham'. In experiencing pleasure and pain the man acts and reacts which constitute good and bad deeds which again become 'āgāmyam'. Thus the cycle of Karma revolves round and round in a vicious circle.

There is one aspect of Karma which is special to Śaiva Siddhānta. It is that the law of Karma does not work automatically as Karma is inert. It is made operative by God. The results of one's actions do not reach the soul automatically as the Mīmāmsakas claim, of course through apūrva. God feeds the soul with the fruit of its actions in appropriate time and in appropriate measure for the good of the soul. God provides the soul with the body, the internal organs, the environment, and the materials for enjoyment suitable for the development of the particular soul with reference to its past Karma.

Māyā

Māyā is the material cause for the Universe of matter. It is the substratum of all matter. This is different from the Māyā as understood by certain schools of Vedanta who mean by it illusion or ignorance. Māyā in its primal state is subtle and imperceptible. It is without parts and being without parts is indestructible and eternal. It is formless and all pervasive. The products of māyā appear and disappear, but the material stuff of which they are constituted remains the same. Some scholars take Māyā as a Tamil word consisting of two letters, 'mā' signifying resolution 'and 'Ya' signifying evolution. Twenty four Tattvas evolve out of māyā. They are the elements which constitute the vestures of different texture for the soul. They

are divided into three groups according to their nature and functions. They range from the grossest (earth) to the subtlest (Nāda or sound). The three groups are (1) Ātma Tattvas (2) Vidyā Tattvas and (3) Śiva Tattvas.

ĀTMA TATTVAS are twenty four in number. They comprise—the five elements (Fire, ākāśa, earth, water and air) five Jñāna indriyas or Instruments of knowledge (Eye, ear, nose, tongue, and skin); Five Tanmātras or 'Pulan' (Sight, sound, smell, taste and touch); Five Karma indriyas (Instruments for action) (Vocal chord, hands, feet, anus and genital and four Antaḥkaraṇas (inner tools) (Manam, Buddhi, Ahaṅkāra and Citta).

Since these twenty four tattvas (ātma tattvas) are either objects of experience or aids to experience they are called Bhogya Kāṇḍam or the group which is experienced by the soul.

VIDYĀ TATTVAS are seven in number. They are—Kāla (Time), Niyati (order), Kalā, Vidyā, Rāga, Puruṣa and Māyā.

These tattvas make experience possible for the soul. Since they make the soul fit to experience the world, they are called Bhojayitru Kāṇḍa or the group which makes one experience.

ŚIVA TATTVAS are the evolutes of 'Śuddha (Pure) Māyā. They are five: Śivam, Śakti, Sādākhyam, Iśvaram and Śuddha Vidyā.

The Śiva tattvas are the subtlest. They control and direct the other tattvas. They therefore constitute *Preraka* Kāṇḍa (Preraka – to direct).

Steps to Mukti

The stages leading to Mukti or final release are classified into three. They are :–

(1) Iruviṇai oppu or Karma sāmya (2) Malaparipāka and (3) Śaktinipāta.

IRUVINAI OPPU is a mental state of detachment reached by one who is mature for release. At this stage one is unperturbed by the pleasure and pains which result from the past good and bad deeds. By this perfect equanimity of mind and freedom from desires and aversions, 'Āgāmyam' which is desire oriented action does not take place and the chain of Karma is snapped.

MALAPARIPĀKAM is the stage when *mala* becomes mature and fit for removal. This stage is reached when the soul attains 'Iruviṉai Oppu'.

ŚAKTINIPĀTA literally means the descent of God's grace. But grace does not operate only at this stage. God's grace is ever present in the soul, guiding it at every stage in its evolution. During the earlier stages of its evolution, the Grace is in the form of Tirodhāna Śakti hiding itself and helping the soul to experience the world and thereby wear out Āṇava mala. When the stage of 'Iruvinai oppu' and 'Malaparipāka' is reached the *Tirodhāna Śakti* becomes *Aruḷ Śakti* and reveals the Truth to the Soul. The soul becomes a Jīvan-mukta, that is, it becomes a released soul even when it is in this body.

Mukti :

All the souls are entitled to mukti. There is no soul that is condemned for ever as the Dvaitin would hold. Mukti according to Śaiva Siddhānta has its own unique features. The relationship between the released soul and God is expressed by the term 'Advaita'. The term 'Advaita' has a peculiar usage full of meaning in Śaiva Siddhānta. It is a key word in this Philosophy. It means ' neither one nor two, but two in one". During the 'Sakala' state when the soul is undergoing the cycle of births and deaths, the soul is in Advaita union with Pāśa. In the Mukti state the released soul identifies itself with God though different from it. This is called 'Advaita' union. Thāyumānavar says :-

"Just as I have been in 'advaita' union with Āṇavamalam, when will I be in 'advaita' union with God, the embodiment of Jñāna ?"

> "ஆணவத்தோடு அத்துவிதம் ஆனபடி மெய்ஞ்ஞானத்
> தாணுவினேடு அத்துவிதஞ் சாருநாள் எந்நாளோ"

Thāyumānavar–45.28.

In Mukti, the soul does not become God or equal to God. The soul even in the released state cannot perform the five cosmic deeds which God alone can do as the Brahma sūtra (4.4.21) says. So it is different from the monistic advaita which claims complete identity of the soul with Brahman. The soul only enjoys communion with God and loses himself in the enjoyment of His Bliss.

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RAMAYANA TRADITION IN INDONESIA

Dr. V. SURYANARAYAN*

&

Tmt. P. BHAVANI**

The spread of India's cultural influence is a fascinating chapter in the history of Southeast Asia. Even a casual visitor is struck by the deep and abiding influence India has left not only in the field of religion, polity, art and literature, but even in day-to-day life of the people. The all-pervasive Rāmāyaṇa tradition, in predominantly Moslem Indonesia, is a classic illustration of the blending of Indian ideas with indigenous traditions. It is a living testimony to the ingratiating qualities of Indian cultural forms and the assimilative nature of Indonesians; what is more, it clearly projects into sharp focus the universal appeal and the unlimited popularity of the Rāmāyaṇa lore.

Rāmāyaṇa is not only the epic of India; it is also the national epic of Indonesia. Rāmāyaṇa had been a perennial source of inspiration in the past and continues to exercise its charm and fascination even today. The simple story of Rāma and Sītā has been told and retold a million times in innumerable ways in different parts of the archipelago. No doubt, in the process of its diffusion and transplantation, the Rāmakathā has uudergone variations and adaptations. The immense vitality of the Rāmāyaṇa tradition in contemporary Indonesia is a proof, if a proof is necessary, to the aptness of Brahmā's assurance to Vālmīki, "And O Great Sage, as long as the mountains stand and the rivers flow, so long will this story of Rāma's heroic

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deeds be told and cherished on earth".[1] As a former Indian diplomat in Indonesia aptly puts it, "for over fourteen centuries now, the Rāmāyaṇa has continued to be a living force among the people of Southeast Asia influencing their hearts and thoughts, inspiring their artistic creations and forming the mainspring of their cultural life. To them the hero and heroine of the Rāmāyaṇa have always been models of chivalry, nobility and faithfulness, characters of great spiritual beauty".[2]

Even in the world of scholarship relating to Rāmāyaṇa tradition, Indonesia has played a pioneering role. The Ministry of Information and Culture organised the first International Rāmāyaṇa Festival in Jakarta in August-September 1971. Scholars and artists from India, Indonesia, Sri Lanka, Burma, Nepal, Malaysia, Singapore, Philippines, Vietnam, Laos and Cambodia participated in this unique seminar whose objective was to promote "deeper cultural understanding amongst nations".[3] Four years later, in 1975, New Delhi picked up the threads and on the occasion of the 400th anniversary of Tulsidas's Rāmcharitamānas, the Sahitya Akademi organised an International Seminar on "Rāmāyaṇa Tradition in Asia".[4] The Sahitya Akademi again convened another International Seminar on "Asian Variations in Rāmāyaṇa" in January 1981.[5] These seminars and published proceedings are significant milestones in our understanding of the many splendoured Rāmāyaṇa heritage.

The Rāmāyaṇa, along with Mahābhārata, provide the base and has contributed to the efflorescence of Wajang Kulit (the shadow or leather puppet theatre), known throughout Indonesia, especially Central and Eastern Java. The Wajang is not merely

1. K. R. Srinivasa Iyengar, *Asian Variations of Rāmāyaṇa* (New Delhi, 1983), p. 19.
2. K. M. Kannampilly, "Rāmāyaṇa in Southeast Asian Life", *Indian Horizons* (New Delhi), nos. 3–4, 1974, pp. 5–8.
3. National Committee for the International Rāmāyaṇa Festival, *The First International Rāmāyaṇa Festival, Indonesia* (Jakarta, 1971), p. 1.
4. V. Raghavan, Ed., *The Rāmāyaṇa Tradition in Asia* (New Delhi, 1980).
5. Srinivasa Iyengar, n. 1.

a form of popular entertainment, it is an inseparable part of Indonesian life and reflects the social order with all its complexities. Both physical and moral attributes are identified with different characters and in the final analysis, the Wajang represents the triumph of virtue over evil. Even the orthodox Moslem Ulemahs could not eradicate its appeal and came to terms with it by declaring that Wajang was the invention of Sunan Kalijaga, an honoured Islamic saint.[6] Though the main themes are derived from the Indian epics, the local genius has introduced many additions, deletions and interpolations in the stories. In the process, the influence of Wajang has not decreased, but continued to be ever growing. The stories can be divided into three groups – 1) Carita Pokok – Pokok means the trunk of a tree – the stories, therefore, revolve around the main characters of Rāmāyaṇa like Rāma, Sītā, Hanumān etc. 2) Carita Carang Dinapur – Carang means branch which means the stories revolve around secondary characters like Vibhīshaṇa, Bali etc. and 3) Carita Carangan – Carangan means a twig. In other words, the stories are far removed from the main theme and are the figments of poet's imagination. The Wajang season begins after the harvest and extends to the beginning of the rainy season. The manipulation of the puppet's movements, the control of the orchestra, the delivery of the dialogue – all are done by the Dalang, who is "at once a composer, improviser, producer, orator, singer, choir master, dance master and stage manager".[7] A good Dalang identifies himself completely with the characters and is able to infuse the nobility of the story to the audience. While keeping within the bounds of Rāmāyaṇa, the Dalang also varies the presentation to suit the audience and mixes the narration with some earthly wit and humour. So important is Dalang's role that the Indonesian classic *Nawaruci* attributes divine qualities to him. To quote the relevant passage, "we are just like the Wajang puppets, all our movements are brought out by the Dalang; the world is the

6. Soewito Santoso, *The Javanese Shadow Play* (Surakarta, 1974), p. 5.

7. Moebirman, *Wayang Purwa. The Shadow Play of Indonesia* (Jakarta, 1973), p. 14.

stage".[8] The passage is remarkably similar to the famous lines in Shakespeare's *As You Like It* "All the world's a stage, all the men and women are merely players". The Wajang Kulit performance is accompanied by a Gamelan orchestra. The performance generally lasts throughout the night, although in urban areas nowadays it is generally reduced to three or four hours. Variations of Wajang Kulit include Wajang Kolek and Wajang Wong. A Malay scholar on Rāmāyaṇa has testified to the fact that a "good Dalang can still draw a larger audience than a local open air cinema showing the latest in Hollywood Coca-Cola culture".[9]

Rāmāyaṇa has also retained its popularity because it has kept in tune with the dance-drama traditions in Indonesia[10] In the predominantly Hindu island of Bali, the four major dance-drama traditions - Wajang Wong Topeng, Kecak, Arja and Paembon - revolve around the Rāmāyaṇa. A large number of actors participate with men and women playing their respective roles. They dance and also deliver their dialogues. The chorus surrounding them play the role of Vānaras or Rākshasas; sometimes they fight with each other and, at other times they remain in the background. The Balinese dance opera is the most stylised of its kind in Indonesia. Other dance drama forms in Java include Langen Mandra Wanara, Sendratari and Samgita.

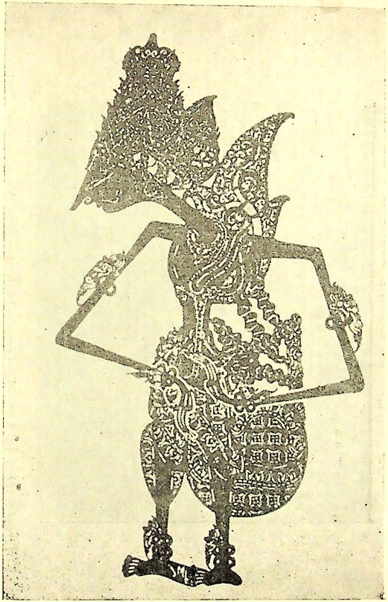
Mention must also be made of the famous Rāmāyaṇa scenes in the temple of Loro Jonggrong in Prambanan near Jogjakarta. These ninth century Saivite monuments contain in their balustrades and relief panels some of the most exqusite Ramāyaṇa scenes. The panels begin in a horizontal series at the main Śiva temple and depicts events starting from the Bālakāṇḍa upto the arrival of Vānaras in Lankā. These are continued in the adjoining Brahmā temple, but only detached

8. Santoso, n. 6, p. 12.

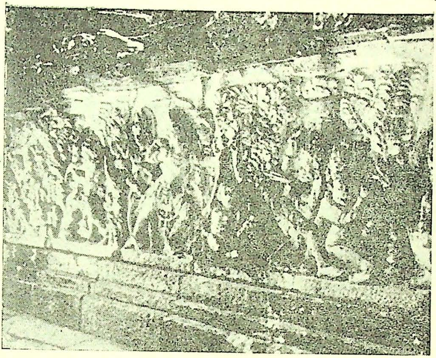
9. Quoted in Srinivasa Iyengar, n. 1, p. 1.

10. "Performing the Rāmāyaṇa in Indonesia", n. 3, pp. 17-23.

SITA - WAJANG FIGURE



RAMA - WAJANG [illegible]



Temple relief in Loro Jonggrong–Fight between Sugriva and Vali

Ramayana Ballet in a Balinese Village

fragments now remain. Viśvāmitra's visit to Daśaratha's court, the slaying of Tāṭakā, Rāma-Sītā marriage, Rāma's meeting with Paraśurāma, Rāma's banishment to the forest, Rāma chasing the golden deer, Sītā's abduction, fight between Sugrīva and Bali, Hanumān's visit to Aśokavana and the battle between Rāma and Rāvaṇa – all these are depicted in detail and with remarkable finesse. These temples are held in great veneration by the local population. These imposing structures are the best examples of Indo-Javanese art and represent the apotheosis of Śaivism in the archipelago.[11] The Indonesian government, during recent years, has been sponsoring dance-drama performances in the backdrop of these temples during June-October. During the rule of the Majapahit dynasty, which represented the final phase of Hindu hegemony in Java, scenes from the Rāmāyaṇa, especially from the Yuddhakāṇḍa, were sculptured in the temple at Panataran in East Java. Though the figures are stylised and sophisticated, they are not very natural and do not have the artistic excellence and visual appeal of those in Prambanan.

Rāmāyaṇa and other Indian epics spread to Indonesia along with the priests, Brahmins, merchants, Kshatriyas, artisans and the poets. An Indonesian inscription in Sanskrit refers to Rāghava in A.D. 732, while the Old Javanese inscriptions refer to Rāvaṇa (A.D. 824), Laṅkā (A.D. 862), Bharata (A.D. 879), Rāma (A.D. 880), Rāmāyaṇa (A.D. 907), Sītā (A.D. 910), Vāli (A.D. 928) and Lakshmaṇa (A.D. 928). The earliest written version was the Rāmāyaṇa Kakawin by Yogīśvara in the 10th century.[12] With the passage of time, numerous other versions

11. Reginald Le May, *The Culture of Southeast Asia* (New Delhi, 1962), p. 97.

12. For an excellent account of Indian cultural impact in Southeast Asia refer H. B. Sarkar, *Some Contributions of India to the Ancient Civilization of Indonesia and Malaysia* (Calcutta, 1970). See also by the same author "The Migration of the Rāmāyaṇa Story to Indonesia and some problems connected with the structure and contents of Old Javanese Rāmāyaṇa", Raghavan, n. 4, pp. 103–21.

appeared. According to one scholar, there are nearly 1200 versions of Rāmāyaṇa in East Java alone. One of the Javanese versions, the Serat Kanda, begins with Adam in Mecca and ends with the cremation of Rāma and Sītā.[13]

How does one account for the dynamic vitality of Rāmāyaṇa tradition in Indonesia? Does it not conflict with the tenets of Islam, the religion which 95 per cent of the Indonesians adhere to?

The explanation is to be found in the Indonesian attitude towards life. The Indonesian mind believes in synthesis and is accustomed to the intermingling of diverse and apparently contradictory elements. The average Indonesian finds no dichotomy in his obligations as a Moslem and his continued acceptance of older Hindu and animist practices. As a well known authority on Indonesia, Prof. J. D. Legge, rightly points out, "The propitiation of spirits, the observance of customary rituals surrounding the main stages of life, the resort to magical practices in curing illness may all be accepted by the same person, who is ready to observe the Moslem law in marriage, to accept the Moslem ritual of circumcision, or to follow the daily pattern of prayer, the weekly community worship, and the annual month of fasting".[14]

The first great religion to arrive in Indonesia was Hinduism and it was soon followed by the Mahāyāna form of Buddhism. Before the Hindus arrived, the people of the islands were animists. The new religions did not compete for people's support; they blended with the native animism and assumed new shapes. Śiva merged with the Buddha and Śiva-Buddha cult came into existence. In most parts of Indonesia, the banyan tree is still considered sacred and never cut down. Similarly, at the time of harvest, each stalk of paddy has to be cut in a different fashion and as quietly as possible to avoid

13. Quoted in Kannampilly, n. 2.

14. J. D. Legge, *Indonesia* (Sydney, 1964), p. 59.

disturbing Devi Śrī, the guardian spirit of fertility. The belief in magic is quite common and the *Kris*, the short ceremonial dagger, is endowed with magical powers and is worshipped everyday.

Islam came to Indonesia in the 16th century and it spread throughout the archipelago in the course of the next three hundred years. It was brought by the merchants of Gujarat and had already undergone changes in the direction of mysticism which facilitated its adoption and adaptation in the Indonesian setting. As the distinguished Sociologist, Clifford Geertz, puts it, "Indonesian Islam, cut off from its centres of orthodoxy at Mecca and Cairo, vegetated, another meandering tropical growth on an already overcrowded religious landscape. Buddhist mystic practices got Arabic names, Hindu Rājas suffered a change of title to become Moslem Sultans, and the common people called some of their wood spirits Jinns; but little else changed".[15]

However, it must be pointed out that the impact of Islam was felt in different ways in different strata of society. As the isolation of Islam broke down with the establishment of contacts with centres of Islamic orthodoxy in the Middle East, new groups began to emerge and occasional tensions took place between the "more faithful" and the "less faithful". Broadly, these groups could be divided into three subvented categories: 1) the Santri, the devout Moslems, who consider themselves as the true followers of Islam, mainly belonging to the trading community; 2) The Abangan, the nominal Moslems, who in their daily lives, lay greater stress on the animistic aspects of Indonesian syncretic religion, belonging mainly to the peasant masses and 3) The Prijaji, who stress the Hindu aspects and belong to the aristocracy in the towns. Numerically, it is the Abangan, who dominate the Indonesian scene and has added colour and richness to the religious landscape. They patronise the Wajang Kulit, while the Prijaji are responsible for the enrichment of the more refined dance-drama traditions.

15. Clifford. Geertz, *The Religion of Java* (London, 1976), p. 125.

Thus, over the centuries, Rāmāyaṇa has inspired and influenced people in different parts of the world. Dr. V. Raghavan, the distinguished authority on Rāmāyaṇa, has remarked: "It is true many stories and episodes have been added in different versions of Rāmāyaṇa, especially in Southeast Asia, and in some of them some of the major deviations from the central Rāmāyaṇa plot of Vālmīki occur. But Rāma is always the central figure around whom all other characters revolve and his life illustrates the message of the truimph of good over evil".[16]

16. Quoted in G. K. Sharotri, "The Rāmāyaṇa Theme in Asia", *Indian and Foreign Review* (New Delhi), February 1, 1976, p. 19.

I

REPORT OF SEMINARS

The Institute of Traditional Cultures held a seminar at 4-15 P.M. on Friday, the 19th November 1982 in Room No. 48 University Departmental Buildings, Madras-5, on 'Tamil Murukan, Hindu Skanda-Kārttikeya and Buddhistic Mañjuśrī' – their interrelations', led by Sri Hiroshi Yamashita, M A., Research Scholar, the Dr. S. Radhakrishnan Institute for Advanced Study in Philosophy, University of Madras, under the chairmanship of Prof. P. Thirugnanasambandhan, M.A.,L.T., Director of the Institute. The following is a report of the proceedings of the seminar.

The chairman introduced the leader and said:

We find in Adichanallur finds of the first millennium B.C. certain relics of Muruga worship like mouthpieces associated with the kāvadi borne by devotees along with the frame of the kāvadi itself. Tolkāppiyam refers to Cēyōn as the God of hills.

The wide prevalence of worship of Kārttikeya-Skanda in the post Vedic and Purāṇic period in North India from about 3rd Century B.C. can be attributed to the absorption in Hindu pantheon of indigenous Gods of Non-Aryan provenance, particularly among the speakers of Dravidian, who were spread throughout India according to linguists at the time of the advent of the Aryans.

Tirumurukāṟṟuppaḍai, a late Sangam work deals elaborately with the ancient mode of worship and iconographic details of Lord Muruga with 6 faces and 12 hands. It is a period when Aryan mythology had already got interwoven with the Tamil religion. We find here reference to the gods, and men of higher and lower castes performing worship, Vedic and indigenous each in their own way.

According to legendary accounts Murugan taught Tamil to the first great Aryan coloniser Agastya and praṇava to Brahmā the creator. Thus he came to be associated both with the Tamil and Vedic traditions in works such as Paripāṭal in Tamil and Kumārasambhava of Kālidāsa in Sanskrit.

Kālidāsa refers to Devagiri as the abode of Kārttikeya in North India and Nakkīrar refers to places like Tiruccendūr and Tirupparaṅkunṛam as the holy abodes of Murugan. He is thus a Pan-Indian God.

In the coins issued by Toramana we have the peacock emblem. Kaniṣka's coins carry the names Skanda, Komaro, Bizago and Mahiseno. The Ikṣvakus, Kadambas and Western Calukyas claimed Skanda's protection.

In Saranath we have a representation of Agni with a cock and Kārttikeya with a peacock which supports the purāṇic account of Agni presenting him a cock.

The Yaudheyas dedicated their State to Kārttikeya. Gautamīputra Sātakarni of 3rd centuary B.C. pays his homage to Mahāsena. In an oval seal at Bhita issued by him, Skanda appears with a dancing peacock.

The Guptas were responsible for the spread of Kārttikeya worship. The rulers themselves bore the names like Skanda-gupta, Kumāragupta etc. Matsyapurāṇa and Visṇudharmottara narrate accounts of Skanda. Āgamas like Amśumadbheda, Suprabheda, Kāmika, Kumāratantra etc deal with the iconographic details, modes of worship, construction of temples, conduct of festivals etc. connected with Skanda.

In Mañjusrīmūlakalpa a Buddhist Tantrik work of 8th centuary A.D. published by Gaṇapati Śāstri of Trivandrum we have reference to Mañjuśrī described as a Kumāra in more than one place. In the passages describing the drawing of a picture of Mañjuśrī this young deity is placed just beneath Buddha's image and in another context as a parivāra devatā along with

Śiva, Umā etc. These go to show how the Tantric School of Buddhism tried to adapt Hindu Gods in their pantheon.

At Kathirkāmam in Ceylon there is no image but a veil of cloth with the figure of Subrahmaṇya with Vaḷḷi and Devasenā in oil painting. Behind the veil is supposed to be Kandan as Guha, the formless God dwelling in everyone's heart. Symbolic of it is a yantra engraved on a golden plate.

The Chairman then requested the leader to lead the seminar.

Mr. Hiroshi Yamashita :

In this paper I have taken up for consideration three representative adolescent gods of India, *viz.* Murukaṉ of ancient South India, Skanda-kārttikeya of Hinduism and Mañjuśrī[1] of Mahāyāna Buddhism aiming at examining the probable inter-relations in their origin and later development. This paper represents one of the primary steps in illuminating the influences or reflections of Pre-Āryan concepts on Pan-Indian religious ideas.

I. ORIGINAL PHASES OF MURUKAN WORSHIP

(1) Nature of the Pre-Āryanized Murukaṉ

The Pre-Āryanized Murukaṉ, who may possibly have some important relation to the conceptions of some other adolescent gods of the later periods, is of great significance in the religious history of India. Murukaṉ, the adolescent god of ancient South India, was identified with Kumāra or Skanda-kārttikeya of the North in later periods and was subsequently fixed in the Śaiva pantheon as the second son of Lord Śiva. In the

1. Strictly speaking, it is not proper to define Mañjuśrī as a god. He is but an ideal human being called *bodhisattva* in the Mahāyāna tradition, though it is true that he is deified to a great extent in Vajrayāna. Buddhism does not admit of any supreme and transcendental God who is the Creator. In the present paper, however, the term 'god', 'deity' or 'divinity' is sometimes applied to Mañjuśrī Bodhisattva as a matter of convenience. Likewise expressions such as 'Buddhist divinities', 'Buddhist pantheon', etc. are employed to denote 'buddhas' and 'bodhisattvas' in this paper.

earliest stage, however, the father-son relation between them was unknown. Murukaṉ is an instance of an indigenous god who went through the so-called Sanskritization or Āryanization process and became enshrined in the Hindu pantheon. In the case of Murukaṉ, as distinct from Gaṇeśa[1] (who is also conceived of as being autochthonous), the original form of worship can be traced back to the rich literature of ancient South India. The prehistoric findings from Adichanallur suggest the antiquity of Murukaṉ worship. According to some scholars,[2] Murukaṉ was already known in the Indus valley civilization. Whether or not this be so, it does seem proper to assume the origin of his worship to be pre-Āryan despite the arguments of those scholars who maintain its Āryan origin.[3]

In order to trace the original features of Murukaṉ in the Tamil classics known as Sangam literature, it is essential to carefully separate imported elements from indigenous ones. For this literature, even in its earliest stratum, is more or less penetrated with Vedic or Sanskrit culture from the North. The well-known image of Murukaṉ with six faces and twelve arms given in Nakkīrar's *Tirumurukāṟṟuppaṭai*[4] belongs to the later development of his iconography.

The early Sangam work, *Tolkāppiyam*, mentions the group of four tutelary deities, *viz.* Māyōṉ, Cēyōṉ, Vēntaṉ and Varuṇaṉ, who respectively preside over *mullai, kuṟiñci marutam*

1. Elephant-headed Gaṇeśa is mentioned in the *Mahābhārata*. He is unknown in the oldest Indian pantheon. For the origin of this god, see A. Getty, *Gaṇeśa*, Oxford, 1936, pp. 1–9; L. Renou et J. Filliozat, *L'Inde Classique, manuel ees etudes indiennes*, tome I, Paris, 1947, 1024.

2. T. Bhattacharya, *The Cult of Brahmā*, second edition, Varanasi, 1969, p. 259; G. M. Bongard-Levin and N. V. Gurov, "Seals Tell the Harappan Story", *Sience Today*, Jan. 1982, p. 24f.

3. Cf. K K. Pillay, *A Social History of the Tamils*, vol. I. Madras, 1969, p. 487 and the foot note.

4. *Tirumurukāṟṟuppaṭai*, 87–118. Cf. J. Filliozat, *Un Texte de la Religion Kaumāra, le TiṟumurukāRRuppaṭai*, Pondichery, 1973, p. XLI,

and *neytal*.[1] Of these Cēyōn, the god of *kuṟiñci* or the hilly tracts, is usually identified with Murukan. Here Cēyōn is regarded not as the son of Śiva, but as an independent deity. In time the identity of the members of this group of four deities underwent changes, excepting that of Māyōn, 'Blue God', (*i.e.* Viṣṇu) and Cēyōn, 'Red God', (*i.e.* Murukan). Although Śiva was not one of the four presiding divinities in the *Tolkāppiyam*, he became included in the list of five major divinities in later periods (ref. *Cilappatikāram*).[2] This fact indicates the gradual Āryanization of the South Indian pantheon.

Cēyōn, 'Red God', who is identical with Murukan, may have afforded material for the concepts associated with Śiva[3] even as Koṟṟavai for the concepts associated with Durgā.[4] This may possibly explain why Śiva and Skanda-kārttikeya have some epithets in common.[5] One could scarcely deny that there are important correspondences in character between the two.

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1. *Tolkāppiyam*, poruḷ. 5.1-6, (Tamil: māyōn mēya kāṭuṟaiyulakamuñ, cēyōn mēya maivaraiyulakamum, vēntan mēya tīmpuṉal ulakamum, varuṇan mēya perumaṇal ulakamum, mullai kuṟiñci maruta neytal eṉa c, colliya muṟaiyāṟ collavum paṭumē.)

2. H. Bechert, "The Cult of Skandakumāra in the Religious History of South India and Ceylon", *Compte-rendu de la Troisieme Conference Internationale*, Pondichery, 1973, p. 204.

3. L. Renou et J. Filliozat, *op.cit.*, 1058. Contrary to this view, J. N. Banerjea says, 'Many of these aspects [of Skanda]... appear also to have been transferred to him from the various traits of the great god. Rudra-Śiva.' (*Development of Hindu Iconography*, Calcutta, 1956, p. 363).

4. L. Renou et J. Filliozat, *op.cit.*, § 1074. The derivation of Sanskrit '*Koṭavī*' or '*Koṭṭavī*', the epithet of Durgā, from Tamil '*Koṟṟavai*' is suggested by an indologist (J. Filliozat, *Un Texte de la Religion Kaumāra*, p. XXIX - XXXI). This derivation seems quite probable to me.

5. As the appellations common to Śiva and Skanda, the following names can be pointed out: Kāmajit Kāmada, Caṇḍa, Bhūtapati, Bhūteśa, Mahāsena, Viśākha, Sabhāpati, Subrahmaṇya, Senāpati, etc,

A group of four divinities similar to that in the *Tolkāppiyam* was known in Sri Lanka. Their cults are conceived of as retaining, to a great extent, the aboriginal modes of worship. Let us consider them in detail by referring to the articles of P. Arunachalam[1] and H. Bechert[2]: Sinhalese inscriptions and old Sinhalese literature often mention the group of four gods who preside over the four quarters of the island.[3] The foremost of these is the god called Upulvan, 'One who has the colour of *utpala*' (Pāli: Uppalavaṇṇa, Skt.: Utpalavarṇa). Upulvan, who was later identified with Viṣṇu, was a separate deity in the earliest stages. The god who is next in importance in the old Sinhalese pantheon is the god Kataragama (Pāli: Kataragama Deyyo). 'Kataragama' is the name of the place sacred to the god as well as the appellation of the god himself. There is some evidence to show that Kataragama is the Sinhalese counterpart of the South Indian Murukaṉ.[4] In Sri Lanka the temples of Upulvan are distinguished by blue flags, while those of Kataragama are indicated by red flags which immediately remind us of the red-coloured banner of the Hindu Skanda-kārttikeya. Of the four divinities, Kataragama is the only god common to the Veddas and to the Sinhalese. He is the god of mountains and has two wives: Devasenā and Vaḷḷi. The latter can be regarded as his original consort. Legends tell of the Vedda origin of Vaḷḷiyammā. The cult of Devasenā who is the personification of the divine army, was brought to

1. P. Arunachalam, "The Worship of Muruka or Skanda (the Kataragama God)", *Studies and Translations, philosophical and religious*, Colombo, 1939, pp. 109-133.
2. H. Bechert, *op.cit.*, pp. 199-206.
3. Such a set of tutelary divinities reminds us of the Dikpālakas or the Lokapālas of Hinduism and the Caturmahārājikas of Buddhism. It seems not improbable that the pre-Āryan concept of the deities presiding over certain tracts is reflected in the pan-Indian idea of the guardian divinities which was generalized in the Epic-Purāṇic period,
4. I may remark that Kataragama came to be regarded as identical with the Indian god, Skanda-kumāra or Subrahmaṇya, after the 14th century in Sri Lanka (H. Bechert, *op. cit.*, p. 202).

this island from North India in a very late period, *i.e.* in the 17th century A.D.[1]

Some important aspects of the Kataragama cult can be pointed out: Firstly, Kataragama is lacking in clear–cut anthropomorphism. In his main temple at Kataragama, he is represented not by an anthropomorphic image, but by a mere *yantra* or mystic diagram which symbolizes his divine power.[2] Secondly, he is a separate deity independent of Lord Śiva. Thirdly, the priests of the Kataragama temple are non-Brāhmins.[3]

All these characteristics of the Sinhalese Kataragama provide an insight into the pre–Āryanized mode of worship of the South Indian Murukaṉ. The double marriage with Vaḷḷi and Devasenā (Tamil: Teyvayāṉai) is known in the case of Murukaṉ as well. K. V. Zvelebil considers the union of Murukaṉ with Vaḷḷi, the daughter of hunters, as retaining the original element of pre-Āryanized Murukaṉ worship.[4] His tribal consort, Vaḷḷi, is very suggestive of the tribal as well as non–Āryan origin of the god Murukaṉ himself. In fact, non–Brāhmin priesthood still survives in small old temples dedicated to Murukaṉ in the South.[5] Even now animals are sometimes sacrificed to Murukaṉ. Animal sacrifice was commonly performed to propitiate this god in earlier periods.

As for the absence of anthropomorphism of Kataragama, a parallel can also be found in the ancient cult of Murukaṉ. A number of spears, iron tridents, iron banner-bases, gold mouth–pieces, representations of fowls in bronze and so forth were excavated at the prehistoric site of Adichanallur, Tinnevelly

1. *Ibid.*, p. 203.
2. P. Arunachalam, *op cit*, pp. 117, 124; H. Bechert, *op. cit.*, p, 202.
3. *Ibid.*, p. 202.
4. K. V. Zvelebil, *Tiru Murugan*, Madras, 1981, pp. 40-53.
5. H. Bechert, *op. cit.*, p. 205.

district.[1] All these finds, which are closely related to the Murukaṉ worship of later periods, suggest that the cult of Murukaṉ or Vēlaṉ was already popular in prehistoric South India. It is noteworthy that no images of this god were unearhted from the site. In this context it should be remembered that even now Murukaṉ-subrahmaṇya is symbolically represented in some temples in South India by a spear only. The early cult of Murukaṉ without anthropomorphic features is proved by literary evidence. K. V. Zvelebil introduces the 'three-fold worship' of the god Murukaṉ in pre-Āryanized Tamil India as follows :[2]

1. The special and elaborate worship by the 'spear-man' (*vēlaṉ*) dancing in a frenzy under divine inspiration (*veṟiyāṭal*), after offering prayers and sacrificing a ram or a buck, and containing (often but probably not always) elements of divination and/or exorcism.
2. The common worship, in which others also took part, mainly women, consisting of offering flowers, paddy, *tiṉai* (millet) and honey, and ending with the sacrifice of a domesticated male animal (buffalo? goat? ram?).
3. A simple and common worship by the men and women of the hill tribe consisting of the *kuravai* dance under the *vēṅkai* tree.

It can be inferred that in these modes of worship no images or idols of the god were required. It is interesting that a similar mode of worship is seen in the contemporary cult of *grāma-devatās* (Tamil: *kirāma-tēvatai*) or village gods in South I dia.[3] It seems probable that the original religion of the

1. *Ibid.*, p. 200; K. A. Nilakanta Sastri, *Development of Religion in South India*, Madras, p. 21f.; *A History of South India, from prehistoric times to the fall of Vijayanagar*, fourth edition, Madras, 1976, p. 57f.; K. K. Pillay, *op. cit.*, pp. 70f., 78, 227, 486f.

2. K. V. Zvelebil, "The Nature of Sacred Power in Old Tamil Texts". *Acta Orientalia*, XL, 1979, p. 181f.

3. For details of the cults of *grāmadevatās*, see H. Whitehead, *The Village Gods of South India*, second edition, Calcutta, 1921.

Dravidians lacked anthropomorphic characterization of the sacred. This may explain the absence of permament images of *grāma-devatās* in modern South India. They are usually represented by a stone or other marker, and sometimes by a mere enclosure. They are temporarily given a form only when occasion demands: for instance, during an annual festival. Even then, their images are made of clay in a very simple manner. It is not infrequently that they are symbolized by just a pot filled with water. H. Bechert says that the absence of early images of Murukaṉ may possibly be explained by the original lack of full personification in the concept of the god Murukaṉ.[1] This view is fairly persuasive in view of the contemporary religious cults among the Dravidian people in the village setting.

Some of the essential characteristics of the pre-Āryan Murukaṉ can be inferred in view of the description of his worship in ancient Tamil literature and his Sinhalese counterpart, Kataragama.[2] That is to say, he does not always undergo full anthropomorphism. His cult is accompanied by the use of a spear, a cock, dancing in a frenzy, animal sacrifice and offerings of food. He is one of the four major deities who preside over different districts. When anthropomorphized, he is a red-coloured god of the hilly tracts who has a consort named Vaḷḷi from a forest tribe. He is a separate god independent of Lord Śiva.

Some of these characteristics were abandoned and new aspects were added with the result that the indigenous Murukaṉ of pre-Āryan South India was finally identified and assimilated with Skanda-kārttikeya of the North.[3]

1. H. Bechert, *op. cit.*, p. 205. According to A. K. Chatterjee, it was only in the third or fourth century that the image of Skanda/Murukan first appeared in South India, *i.e.* at Nāgārjunakoṇda (*The Cult of Skanda-Kārttikeya in Ancient India*, Calcutta, 1970, p. 130).
2. As the reason why the same mode of worship was known both in South India and in Sri Lanka, H. Bechert suggests the possibility of some common older stratum of population *op. cit.*, p. 206).
3. For instance, the commandership over the divine army (*devasenā*) is not known in the earlier Murukaṉ.

(2) The Concept of Sacred Force and the Dual Character of Skanda/Murukan̲

The important concept of *aṇaṅku,* the sacred power peculiar to Murukan̲, may be responsible for the lack of full anthropomorphism of this god in the earlier stage of his worship. According to one scholar, early Dravidian religion was based upon an animistic idea that sacred force is immanent in each actual object.[1] It is most likely that the concept of *aṇaṅku* mentioned in Tamil literature is related to such an animistic tradition of the ancient Dravidians. The word *'aṇaṅku'* as a verb originally means 'to suffer', 'to be distressed', 'to be slain' or 'to afflict', and as a noun means 'pain', 'affliction' or 'killing'.[2] The same word can mean a kind of superhuman power in a different context. While this sacred power called *aṇaṅku* underwent personification in later periods resulting in its decisive identification with the malicious Apsaras, Mohinī, the term anaṅku did not imply any personified deity in the earlier stages of literature.[3] This power, which in itself is neither benevolent nor malevolent but awe-inspiring, functions either beneficially or harmfully according to circumstances. *Aṇaṅku,* which is capricious as well as potentially dangerous, must be controlled with great care lest it should harm human life. Being properly appeased and brought under control, the power works in a beneficent way and is regarded as auspicious.[4]

This secred power is believed to dwell in awe-inspiring places like mountains, water, the entrance of a house, *kaṭampu*

1. G. L. Hart. III, "Ancient Tamil Literature: its scholarly past and future", *Essays on South India,* ed. B. Stein, Honolulu, 1975, p. 42f.
2. T. Burrow and M. B. Emeneau, *A Dravidian Etymological Dictionary,* Oxford, 1961, 56 (b).
3. K. V. Zvelebil, "The Nature of Sacred Power...", pp 160, 162.: *Tiru Murugan,* pp. 21-23.
4. G. L. Hart, III, *Poems of Ancient Tamil: their milieu and their sanskrit, counterpart,* Berkeley, 1975, p. 135.

   It is interesting that such two-sidedness; benevolent and malevolent is commonly found in the *grāmadevatās* of modern South India as well.

tree, weapons, musical instruments, certain animals, the breast of maidens, etc.[1] In addition, according to scholars,[2] *aṇaṅku* is attributed to the demons of North India. For example, *avuṇaṉ* (equivalent to Skt. *asura*) is said to have *aṇaṅku*. Moreover, Mnrukaṉ is believed to have *aṇaṅku*. *Aṇaṅku*, as well as the god Murukaṉ endowed with *aṇaṅku*, occasionally takes possession of young women and causes them to become lovelorn.[3] In this case a *vēlaṉ*, a professional shaman, is called for to exorcise *aṇaṅku* or Murukaṉ.

Aṇaṅku stands out in sharp contrast to *cūr*, the malignant power which is not personified in the earlier stages. The former can be driven out by a shaman, whereas the latter is not an object of exorcism. The antagonism between *aṇaṅku* and *cūr* is developed into that between Murukaṉ with *aṇaṅku* and the antigod, Śūrapadma-cūraṉ, the personification of *cūr*, in Tamil literature.[4]

G. L. Hart is of the opinion that the almost total lack of mythology in early Tamil literature is attributable to the animistic idea of the sacred force which is rarely given personified representation.[5] The frequent absence of full anthropomorphism of Murukaṉ may be explained in this context. Moreover, it seems likely that such an indigenous idea of the

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1. K. V. Zvelebil, "The Nature of Sacred Power...", p. 105f.; *Tiru Murugan*, pp. 16-19.

2. G. L. Hart, III, *Poems of Ancient Tamil..*, p. 64f.; K V. Zvelebil "The Nature of Sacred Power...", p. 168; *Tiru Murugan*, p. 17.

3. K. K Pillay, *op. cit.*, pp. 350-352.

4. According to K. V. Zvelebil, the basic motif of Murukan's hostility to *cūr* originates in the pre-Aryanized culture of the Dravidians (*Tiru Murugan*, p. 26ff.). This indigenous motif reminds us of the well-known antagonism between *devas* (or *suras*) and *asuras* in Indo-Aryan literature.

5. G. L. Hart, III, "Ancient Tamil Literature ..", p. 43. K. V. Zvelebil however, denies this lack of mythology in pre-Āryanized South Indian religion (*Tiru Murugan*, p. 2f.).

sacred power functioning in either a benevolent or malevolent way according to circumstances, is reflected in the capriciousness and the dual character of Skanda-kärttikeya, the Sanskrit counterpart of Murukaṉ. K. V. Zvelebil says that such sacred power is not the property of a well-defined, transcendental god.[1]

The two-sidedness of benevolence and malevolence of Kumāra or Skanda-kärttikeya is proved in Sanskrit literature. Since very early periods, Skanda has been worshipped as a god who causes fertility in barren women. This is Skanda's aspect of Naigameya or Nejamesa. Skanda's association with fertility is known in the *Suśruta-saṃhitā*, later Vedic and Epic–Purāṇic records and in Jaina literature.[2] He is also regarded as the guardian of children. Apart from the personified Skanda with benevolent characteristics, demonic Skanda without full personification is commonly known in all ages. In his demonic aspect may be reflected to a great extent his mode of worship at the popular level of Hinduism. In Sanskrit literature the appellation 'Skanda' first appears in the *Maitrāyaṇi–saṃhitā* and the *Gṛhya–sūtras*, where he plays a demonic role.[3] In the Epics and the Purāṇas he is a demon who torments children. The list of nine disease–demons (*graha*) given in the *Suśruta–saṃhitā* contains Skanda-graha, Skandāpasmāra–graha and Naigameṣa–graha.[4] In Pāli Buddhist literature, Skanda-kumāra is mentioned as a demon who brings drought and is found to be identical with his Brāhmaṇical namesake who causes diseases in children.[5] In

1. K. V. Zvelebil, "The Nature of Sacred Power..." p. 190; *Tiru Murugan*, p. 23.
2. A. K. Chatterjee, *op. cit.*, pp. 103-105.
3. A. Danielou, *Hindu Polytheism*, London, 1963, p. 299.
4. *Suśruta-samhitā*, uttaratantra, XXVII. Cf. J. Filliozat, *Kumāratantra de Rāvaṇa, etude de demonologie indienne*, Paris, 137, p. 43; P. Kutumbiah *Ancient Indian Medicine*, Bombay, 1962, pp. 199-201.
5. J. R. Halder, *Early Buddhist Mythology*, New Delhi, 1977, p. 181f, In the Tibetan version of Buddhist texts, '*Skanda*' is usually translated as '*skem-byed*' which means the demon causing drought. Here Skanda is clearly conceived of as a demonic being. Cf. The *Mahāvyutpatti* (R. Sakaki's edition), 4761.

Buddhist Tantras the name 'Skanda' is found among evil spirits such as *piśācas*, *pretas*, *bhūtas* and so on.[1] In a Tāntric text of Buddhism, Kumāra is referred to as a goblin and called Kumāra-pūtana (or – pūtanā).[2] In Sanskrit literature, Skanda-kārttikeya is sometimes designated as Piśācarāja, Bhūtapati, Bhūteśa, etc.[3] All these titles indicate his chieftaincy over demonic spirits. E. W. Hopkins points out that Skanda is said to be followed by evil beings like disease-demons, *grahas*, *pūtanās*, nightmares, fevers and so forth in the Epic-Purāṇic passages.[4] His dual character, with both benign and malignant phases, is parallel to the character of demigods or semidivine beings rather than that of supreme and transcendental gods in the Hindu pantheon.

It is often suggested by scholars that the demigods with dual character known as *yakṣas*, *rākṣasas*, *guhyakas*, etc. derive their origin from the non-Āryan tradition. *Yakṣas*, who are benevolent as the spirits of fertility on the one hand, have a proclivity to torment children on the other.[5] According to A. K. Coomaraswamy,[6] there is not much doubt that *yakṣas* are of non- or pre- Āryan origin. It is noteworthy that Kumāra is related to *yakṣas* in Buddhist texts. For example, in a Buddhist Tāntric work, Kumāra is often described as the chief of *guhyakas* who are equivalent to *yakṣas* in most cases.[7]

1. Cf. e.g. The *Mahāmāyūrī*, *The Taishō edition of the Chinese Tripiṭaka*, vol. 19, pp. 415b–c, 459b.
2. *Taishō*, vol. 19, p. 458b.
3. Cf. A. K. Chatterjee, *op.cit.*, p. 94f.; K. V. Zvelebil (transl.), "Kumāratantra", *The Adyar Library Bulletin*, vol. 42, 1978, p. 206.
4. E. W. Hopkins, *Epic Mythology*, Strassburg, 1915, p. 229.
5. A. K. Coomaraswamy, *Yakṣas*, part I & II, New Delhi, 1971, p. 4ff
6. *Ibid.*, pp. 3, 36f.
7. *Taishō*, vol. 20, p. 790b.
In this context I may remark that A. K. Coomaraswamy suggests the probable etymological relation between the word '*guha*', Skanda's well-known epithet, and the word '*guhya*', a common appellation for *yakṣas* (*op.cit.*, p. 8).

A. K. Coomaraswamy introduces a list of *yakṣas* which contains Kārttikeya and Naigameṣa.[1] It is remarkable that Kumāra is occasionally accompanied by the concept of plurality even as other demigods are. The passage from the *Pañcarakṣā* which mentions Kumāra as a group is a positive proof of Kumāra's plurality.[2] Other adolescent gods in India besides Kumāra (or rather Kumāras) are characterized by plurality and a dual personality both good and evil. For instance, *gandharvas* and the *maruts* are homogeneous groups of adolescent gods.[3]

According to G. L. Hart,[4] there were two classes of divinities distinguished from each other by the ancient Tamil people, *viz.* foreign gods from the North and the gods of indigenous origin. The former gods, who are the subjects of story and myth, are transcendent and benevolent or, at least, indifferent. The latter ones are interchangeably called *kaṭavuḷ*, *aṇaṅku* or *teyvam* in ancient Tamil literature. What is interesting is that the word *teyvam* borrowed from Sanskrit *deva* was employed to denote indigenous deities. Their character can be explained by the above-mentioned nature of the sacred power which is potentially dangerous. The gods of this category are, G. L. Hart points out, directly involved in daily life of people in either a beneficent or maleficent manner with the sacred force peculiar to them. Murukaṉ, beyond doubt,

1. A. K. Coomaraswamy, *op.cit.*, p. 12.
2. *Taishō*, vol. 20, p. 637c.
3. In this connection it is to be remarked that Kāmadeva and *gandharvas*, youthful gods occuring in Sanskrit literature, exhibit a close parallel to pre-Āryanized Murukaṉ in their sexual roles in myths. It is suggested that the belief in *gandharva* had its origin outside the strictly Brāhmaṇical circle (A. Hillebrandt, *Vedic Mythology*, vol. I, Delhi, 1980, p. 252f.). For the plurality of *gandharvas*, see *ibid.*, p. 248ff. As for the *maruts*, the probable Dravidian etymology of the word '*marut*' is sometimes pointed out. Cf. e.g. A. B. Kei h, *The Religion and Philosophy of the Veda and Upaniṣads*, part I, Cambridge, Mass., 1925, p. 152f; R. N. Dandekar, *Vedic Mythological Tracts: select writings I*, Delhi, 1979, p. 237n. Furthermore, see the concluding remarks of this paper and the foot notes.
4. G. L. Hart, III, *Poems of Ancient Tamil* , pp. 26, 63-65.

belongs to this category of divinities. They sometimes take possession of people and then they have to be appeased or exorcised.[1]

In addition, another class of indigenous deities can be identified in the ancient Tamil pantheon. They are more malevolent than *aṇaṅku*, etc. and called *cūr* and *pēy*.[2] They are always malicious and do not possess people. So no exorcism is performed.

Incidentally, the *Suśruta-saṁhitā* refers to *bhūta-vidyā* or demonology and gives an account of it. In this medical work *devas*, *asuras*, *gandharvas*, *yakṣas*, *rakṣas*, *pitṛs*, *piśācas* and *nāgas* are defined as the demons (*graha*) who take possession of people and are the objects of exorcism.[3] Lists of similar beings are frequently given in Buddhist Tāntric works of later periods. For example, the *Mahāmāyūrī*[4] offers a list of the

1. It should be noted here that even *teyvam* or *tēvatai* is thought to take possession of people. See Tamil expressions such as '*teyvaṅ-koṇṭāṭi*' (a person possessed by a deity, evil spirit, etc.), '*teyvam-āṭutal*' (to be possessed or inspired by a spirit), '*teyvam-uṟutal*' (to become possessed by a spirit), '*teyvam-ēṟutal*' (to be possessed by a spirit), '*tēvatai-k-kuṟai*' (a disease caused by demoniac possession), '*tēvatai t-toṭarcci*' (possessed by a demon), '*tēvar-k-kāṭal*' (demoniac possession), etc. Cf. *Tamil Lexicon*, University of Madras, vol. IV, pp. 2031, 2033, 2065, 2067.

2. For details of *cūr* and *pēy* in contrast with *aṇaṅku*, see K. V. Zvelebil, "The Nature of Sacred Power...", pp. 160–165, 186–188; *Tiru Murugan*, pp. 16, 21, 26–39.

3. *Suśruta-saṃhitā*, sūtrasthāna, I. 7. (Skt.: bhūtavidyā nāma devāsuragandharvayakṣarakṣaḥpitṛpiś canāgagrahādyupasṛṣṭacetasāṃ śāntikarmabalihāraṇādigrahopaśamanārtham//) Cf. J. Filliozat, *Kumāratantra de Rāvaṇa...*, p. 24.

The *grahas*, nine in number, whose demonic possession causes different diseases in children are also listed in another passage of the same work. The list contains Skanda-graha, Skandāpasmāra-graha, Naigameṣa-graha, etc. as I have already mentioned. It is interesting that the list in the *Suśrutasaṃhitā* bears some resemblance to that in the *Rāvaṇa-kumāratantra*. Cf. *ibid.*, pp. 4–19.

4. *Taishō*, vol. 19, p. 416b.

demonic beings of the same kind wherein the *maruts, kinnaras, mahoragas, pretas, bhūtas,* etc. are added to the list of the *Suśruta-saṃhitā*. Such a group of spirits or minor divinities,[1] well-known in Sanskrit literature and the Chinese version of Buddhist Sanskrit works, seems to correspond to the second category of the Tamil classification of deities mentioned above, *i.e. kaṭavuḷ, teyvam* and *aṇaṅku*.[2]

It is significant that this class of divinities quite similar to the indigenous gods of ancient South India in character and function is also known in Sanskrit works. In vedic literature these demigods remain inconspicuous, being eclipsed by other divinities. It was in the Epic-Purāṇic period that the demigods and minor divinities were multiplied and acquired greater importance in the Hindu pantheon. A parallel is also found in the development of the Buddhist pantheon. In the works of Tāntric Buddhism those minor divinities exhibit the typical two-sidedness, benevolent and malevolent. In their benevolent aspect they are the deities serving as the guardians of the

1. In the Jaina pantheon, the *vyantara-devatās* may correspond to this category of divinities. They are *piśācas, bhūtas, yakṣas, rākṣasas, kiṁnaras, kiṁpuruṣas, mahoragas* and *gandharvas*. For details of the *vyantara-devatās* and their cults, see J. Jain, *Prakrit Narrative Literature origin and growth*. New Delhi, 1981, pp. 127, 154. A similar group of divinities is also known in Buddhism. They are called 'Pa-pu-chung' or 'T' ien-lung-pa-pu-chung' in Chinese. The members are *devas, nāgas, yakṣas, gandharvas, asuras, garuḍas, kiṃnaras* and *mahoragas*. It is noteworthy that the *devas* are included in this list.

2. Here it is easily inferred that what is meant by the term '*deva*' in the definition of *bhūta-vidyā* in the *Suśruta-saṃhitā* is not a fully personified, transcendental god like Śiva or Viṣṇu but a minor divinity wanting in fixed individuality and definite anthropomorphism, just as in the case of '*teyvam*' in the Tamil classification of divinities. L. Renou points out that the word '*deva*' sometimes bears the sense of 'demon' in Sanskrit passages (L. Renou et J. Filliozat, *op.cit.*, 1000). The *Yogaśataka* mentions '*sura*' who causes fever. (Skt.: ... skandonmāda-piśācarākṣasa*surā*veśa jvaradhnaṃ smṛtam//72//; Tibetan translation: ... gśed-byed smyo-byed śa-za srin-po *lha*-rnams shugs-paḥi rims-ni ḥjoms-par dran //) Cf. J. Filliozat, *Yogaśataka, texte medical attribue a Nāgārjuna*, Pondichery, 1979, pp. 32f., 101,

Buddhist world and the pious Buddhists who attend Buddha's preaching. According to some passages, however, they attack people and harm them with the power of demonic possession. To me it seems not unlikely that, behind the steady increase in the number and prominence of minor divinities or evil spirits in the pan-Indian Hindu pantheon from the Vedic period down to the Epic-Purāṇic period, there lay the gradual penetration of the non-Āryan or, very possibly, Dravidian idea of divinity or the sacred.

II. MAÑJUŚRĪ, THE PROBABLE BUDDHIST COUNTERPART OF SKANDA / MURUKAṈ

(1) Different Views on the Origin and Antiquity of Mañjuśrī

Even as Avalokiteśvara is sometimes considered to be the Buddhist counterpart of the Hindu Śiva or Viṣṇu,[1] so Mañjuśrī, the adolescent bodhisattva of Mahāyāna, can be regarded as the counterpart of Skanda / Murukaṉ. It is true that Brahmā is sometimes considered to be the Hindu counterpart of Mañjuśrī on the basis of their iconographical similarities, their connection with the goddess Sarasvatī, etc.[2] However, it seems proper to consider the relation between Mañjuśrī and Brahmā in the context of 'celibacy' or 'chastity' (*brahmacarya* or *kaumāra*). For not only is Mañjuśrī associated with Brahmā but other adolescent gods in India also, such as Sanaṅkumāra and Pañcaśikha of Hīnayāna and Kāma and Sanatkumāra of Hinduism, very often have some connection in mythology with

1. Cf. L. de la Vallee Poussin, "Mañjuśrī", *Encyclopaedia of Religion and Ethics*, vol. 8, p. 405f. L. Joshi points out that in the *Kāraṇḍa-vyūha* various characteristics of the Hindu Śiva are attributed to Avalokiteśvara (*Studies in the Buddhistic Culture of India*, Delhi, 1977, p. 246). In Buddhist Tāntric lore, Lokanātha and Nīlakaṇṭha are known as the two different forms of Avalokiteśvara. Cf. B. Bhattacārya, *The Indian Buddhist Iconography*, Oxford, 1924, pp. 38-40, 48. Bhattacharya writes, 'Apparently the model of this god [= Nīlakaṇṭhāvalokiteśvara] has been taken from the Hindu deity Śiva, ... '(*ibid.*, p. 48).
2. Cf. de la Vallee Poussin, *op.cit.*, p. 405f.; J. N. Banerjea, *op.cit.*, pp. 557-559.

Brahmā who is believed to bestow favours on ascetics.[1] It might indeed be probable that the character of Brahmā provided some material for the concept of Mañjuśrī.[2] But the relation between the two should be understood to be secondary.

It was M. Lalou who remarked on the close relationship between Mañjuśrī and Skanda-kārttikeya. She suggests that Mañjuśrī of Mahāyāna may be equivalent to Pañcaśikha of Hīnayāna and Skanda-kārttikeya of Hinduism on the ground of the similarities in their characters and their roles in myths.[3] However F. Edgerton disagrees with Lalou and regards the similarities between Mañjuśrī and Skanda-kārttikeya as secondary. According to his observation, the confusion of the two seen in a Buddhist text (*viz.* the *Mañjuśrīmūlakalpa*) is due only to their common epithet, 'Kumāra'.[4] D.H.H. Ingalls says, 'Since Mañjuśrī is portrayed as a youth, his character began to encroach in later classical times on that of two Hindu divinities, Kāma and Kumāra'.[5]

Mañjuśrī is (or was) one of the most popular and important bodhisattvas not only in India but also in the countries of Northern Buddhism such as Tibet, Nepal, Central Asia, China and Japan. He is the embodiment of wisdom and is regarded as the patron of learning. He is closely connected with mountain worship. He assumes the form of a youth with the hair style known as *śikhaṇḍaka* and is called Kumāra or Kumārabhūta. In the *Nāmasaṅgīti*, one of the later Buddhist works of Vajrayāna, he is promoted to the highest rank of Ādibuddha, the supreme and transcendental Buddha.

Mañjuśrī, as well as Avalokiteśvara, is one of the oldest bodhisattvas in the Mahāyāna tradition. Mañjuśrī has maintained

1. L. Renou et J Filliozat, *op.cit.*, § 1026.
2. *Ibid.*, § 1025.
3. M. Lalou, *Iconographie des Etoffes Peintes (Paṭa) dans le Mañjuśrīmūlakalpa*, Paris, 1930, pp. 66–70.
4. F. Edgerton, *Buddhist Hybrid Sanskrit Dictionary*, Delhi, 1972, p. 414f.
5. D. H. H. Ingalls, *Sanskrit Poetry: from Vidyākara's "Treasury"*, Cambridge, Mass., 1968, p. 52.

his great popularity since the very beginning of Mahāyāna history, while Avalokiteśvara rose to popularity only in the 6th or 7th century A.D. J. Przyluski pointed out the antiquity of Mañjuśrī worship and his disciple, M. Lalou, tried to prove it.[1]

There is a variety of views on the origin of this adolescent bodhisattva.[2] Some scholars are of the opinion that his worship originated in South India. This view is based on the evidence of the description; in the earliest Mahāyānasūtras. The *Prajñāpāramitā-sūtra*,[3] in which Mañjuśrī plays an important role, declares that *'prajñāpāramitā'*, the essence of Mahāyāna doctrine, will be spread 'from the South' to West and North India. Scholars consider this description to show the South Indian origin of the *Prajñāpāramitā-sūtra* and of the Bodhisattva Mañjuśrī himself. Moreover, in another Mahāyāna-sūtra entitled the *Gaṇḍavyūha-sūtra*,[4] it is said that Mañjuśrī went southward from Śrāvastī and attracted a large number of followers among the people in the South and that he exhorted one of his followers named Sudhanaśreṣṭhidāraka to make a round of calls on fifty-three (or fifty-five) *pandits* in South India. Some scholars recognize in these descriptions in Mahāyāna-sūtras a close association of Mañjuśrī with South India and insist on the South Indian origin of his worship. Other scholars, however, disagree with this view because of the probable North-west Indian origin of Mahāyāna Buddhism.

1. J. Przyluski, "Les Vidyārāja, contribution a l'histoire de la magie dans les sectes mahāyānistes". *Bulletin de l'Ecole Francaise d'Extreme-Orient*, tome 23, 1923, pp. 301–318; M. Lalou, *op.cit*, pp. 10–13.

2. Cf. M. T. de Mallmann, *Etude Iconographique sur Mañjuśrī*, Paris, 1964, pp. 16–18.

3. The *Mo-ho-po-jē-po-lo-mi-ching* (*Taishō* no. 223, vol 8. pp. 217–424); The *Hsiao-p'in-po-jē-po-lo-mi-ching* (*Taishō* no. 227, vol. 8, pp. 536–586).

4. The *Ta-fang-kuang-fo-hua-yen-ching* (*Taishō* no. 278, vol. 9, pp. 395–788, esp. pp. 676–788; No. 279, vol. 10, pp. 1–444, esp. pp. 319–444; No. 293, vol. 10, pp. 661–851).

On the other hand, there is an opinion which ascribes the origin of Mañjuśrī to China.[1] The scholars who hold this opinion lay stress on the inseparable connection of Mañjuśrī with Wu-t'ai-shan, the mountain of five peaks, in Shanhsi province, China. They cite Chinese Buddhist books which refer to Mañjuśrī as a real figure who taught Buddhism to people at Wu-t'ai-shan in the first century A.D. They cite the passages of I-ching's report on India and infer that it was believed among Indian people in the 7th century that Mañjuśrī was preaching Buddhist doctrine in China at that time. The scholars consider that such a historical figure in China was gradually deified and subsequently came to be worshipped as an ideal bodhisattva known as Mañjuśrī.

In spite of the literary evidence in Chinese Buddhist sources, however, the Chinese origin of this bodhisattva seems doubtful to me. For the Indian Buddhist canon does not afford any positive proof of the existence of such a real character in China. Above all, to regard Mañjuśrī as a real figure in China, does not explain satisfactorily the attributes and characteristics of Mañjuśrī Bodhisattva in the Mahāyana tradition in India. As for Wu-t'ai-shan, it would seem far more proper to assume that the pilgrimage to that mountain resulted from the association of Pañcaśikha-parvata (or Pañcacīraka-, Pañcaśīrṣa-parvata) mentioned in the Indian Buddhist canon as the dwelling place of Mañjuśrī. The Sanskrit word *'pañcaśikhā'* can mean both 'five summits' and 'the tuft of hair with five knots'.[2] The latter is the attribute common to a child and an infant god in India. It can be inferred that the idea of Pañcaśikha-parvata must have been introduced into Mañjuśrī worship not because of the real mountain in China named Wu-t'ai-shan, but because of his fixed image as an infant or

1. M. T. de Mallmann, *op cit.*, p. 17f.; A Getty, *The Gods of Northern Buddhism*, Oxford, 1923, p. 110f.

2. M. Lalou notes the significance of the number 'five' (*pañca*) and the word 'top' (*śikhā*, etc.) in the cult of Mañjuśrī. Cf M. Lalou, *op.cit.*, p. 67f.

adolescent god and his inseparable connection with mountain worship.[1] In fact, Mañjuśrī worship had already been known long before the 4th or 5th century when Wu-t'ai-shan in China became the place of pilgrimage of Mañjuśrī Bodhisattva.

According to a Nepalese legend, Mañjuśrī is the historical benefactor who made the land of Nepal inhabitable by draining a great lake. It is also related that he is the founder of civilization in Nepal and also that he introduced Buddhism into Nepal.[2]

(2) Mañjuśrī's Characteristics common to Skanda / Murukaṉ

It is possible to point out some essential characters of Mañjuśrī which are common to Skanda / Murukaṉ. Firstly, Mañjuśrī is characterized as an adolescent god just like Skanda/ Murukaṉ. That is the reason why Mañjuśrī is very often called Kumāra or Kumārabhūta. The latter means 'man of perennial youth'. His character as a youthful bodhisattva was firmly maintained throughout all ages of Buddhist history.[3]

The *śikhaṇḍaka* type of hair style attributed to him is accounted for by his youthfulness. *Ekaśikhā*, *pañcaśikhā*, *ṣaṭśikhā* and *aṣṭaśikhā* are known in his iconography, but *pañcaśikhā* is the commonest. Skanda-kārttikeya, who also has a *śikhaṇḍaka* hair style, is called Śikhin,[4] while Mañjuśrī has the epithet Śikhādhara. J. N. Banerjea refers to *triśikhā* and *pañcaśikhā* as the hair style peculiar to Kumāra-kārttikeya on the basis of the iconographical descriptions in the *Viṣṇudharmottara-purāṇa*.[5]

1. Cf. D. Snellgrove, *Buddhist Himalaya*, Oxford, 1957, p. 62.
2. Cf. *ibid.*, p. 92; A. Getty, *The Gods of Northern Buddhism*, p. 110f.; B. Bhattacharyya, *op.cit.*, p. 16.
3. However, it may be noticed that Mañjuśrī's usual epithet 'Kumāra' is absent in the *Niṣpannayogāvalī*'. Cf. M. T. de Mallmann, *op.cit.*, p. 17.
4. A. K. Chatterjee, *op.cit.*, p. 94.
5. J. N. Banerjea, *op.cit.*, p. 364.

As I have already mentioned, Mañjuśrī is regarded as the embodiment of wisdom as well as the patron of learning. Mañjuśrī'[1] connection with wisdom and learning is of primary significance.[1] The same may be said of Skanda / Murukaṉ. Mañjuśrī has a sword as the symbol of wisdom, while Skanda/ Murukaṉ holds the spear called *jñānaśakti*. The concept of wisdom or learning is closely akin to that of word or sound. So Mañjuśrī occasionally has appellations such as Mañjughoṣa, Mañjusvara, Vāgīśvara and Vādiraj.[2] His aspect as the god endowed with a sweet voice can be traced back to the *Saddharmapuṇḍarika-sūtra* of the early Mahāyāna.[3] Murukaṉ's aspect as the god of singing and music is also well-known in literature.

It is no wonder that a god of wisdom plays the role of preacher. In Buddhist Tantras, Mañjuśrī sometimes preaches the doctrine to the assembly, while Skanda-kārttikeya teaches the magical formula called *praṇava-mantra* to a *ṛṣi* in the *Śivapurāṇa*.[4] Tamil tradition relates that Skanda expounded the same *mantra* to his father Śiva on Svāmi-malai.[5]

Many of the common features of Mañjuśrī and Skanda / Murukaṉ are probably derived from their essential character as youthful gods. Here it may be remarked that the close connection between Skanda / Murukaṉ and the idea of wisdom is pointed out by a scholar as being very old and may be traceable to the pre-Āryan tradition.[6] In reality, among South

1. The fact that Mañjuśrī is treated as a kind of 'culture hero' in Nepalese legends may be considered in this context. Mañjuśrī's character as the god of wisdom is of great importance especially in China and Japan. Among several Chinese transliterations of the Sanskrit word '*Mañju(-śrī)*', they prefer to use '*Wen-shu*' which implies 'one of eminent wisdom'.
2. A. Foucher, *Etude sur l'Iconographie Bouddhique de l'Inde*, part II, Paris, 1900, p. 40; B. Bhattacharyya, *op.cit.*, p. 17.
3. M. Lalou, *op.cit.*, p. 68n.
4. J. N. Banerjea, *op.cit.*, p. 363; A. K. Chatterjee, *op.cit.*, p. 102.
5. *Ibid.*, p. 102.
6. *Ibid.*, p. 101.

Indians, Murukan-subrahmanya is more famous as the god of victory.[1]

In addition to the concept of wisdom, mountain worship is an essential element of the cult of Mañjuśrī Bodhisattva. Some mountains sacred to Mañjuśrī are named in the Sūtras and the Tantras dedicated to this bodhisattva. Pañcaśikha-parvata (or Pañcacīraka-, Pañcaśīrṣa-parvata), the mountain of five peaks, is the most famous among them. In a Buddhist text,[2] Buddha makes a prediction (*vyākaraṇa*) that after his death Mañjuśrī-kumārabhūta, filled with superhuman power (*ṛddhi*), will preach the doctrine to the people on the top of Pañcaśikha-parvata located in Mahācīna of North-eastern Jambudvīpa. The inseparable connection of this bodhisattva with mountains is supported by his iconography, especially by the mystic cloth-paintings (*paṭa*) of the *Mañjuśrīmūlakalpa*.[3]

It is well-known that Murukan-subrahmanya in the South has the mountainous tracts as his abode or sanctuary. That is why he is called Kuriñci-āṇḍavar, Kuriñci-iraivan, Kuriñci-k-kiḻavan, Kuriñci-k-kiraivan, Kuriñciman, Kuriñci-vēntan, etc. in Tamil.

As for Skanda-kārttikeya of the North, mountains play an important part in his worship as well. Śrīparvata and Krauñca in particular are mentioned as his sacred mountains in Sanskrit works. It seems, however, that in the cult of Skanda-kārttikeya of the North, mountains have no primary significance, unlike the case of his South Indian counterpart. K. V. Zvelebil suggests that the inseparable connection of Murugan with

1. *Ibid.*, p. 102. It is to be recalled here that Murukan's chieftainship over the divine army was not known in the pre-Āryanized mode of his worship.

2. *The Fo-shuo-wen-shu-shih-li-fa-pao-tsang-t'o-lo-ni-ching* (*Taishō*, no. 1185A, vol. 20, p. 791c); *The Wen-shu-shih-li-pao-tsang-t'o-lo-ni-ching* (*Taishō* no. 1185B, vol. 20, p. 798a-b). These two are different translations of the same texts.

3. Cf. M. Lalou, *op.cit.*

mountains may be traced back to the remote antiquity of pre-Āryan India.[1]

Skanda/Murugaṉ is usually said to have a peacock as his vehicle (*vāhana*). That is why he is called Śikhivāhana. In his iconographical representations he is often accompanied by a cock as well as a peacock.

The peacock maintains its place in the cult of Mañjuśrī Bodhisattva not as the *vāhana* but as the design on his flag. Here Mañjuśrī comes to have the image of the god of war or victory. It is not infrequently that the peacock is mentioned in Buddhist texts. In many cases it is worshipped in connection with detoxication as in cases of snakebite, etc. The peacock in Mañjuśrī worship, however, is effective both for victory and in fascination or bewitching of women (*vaśīkaraṇa*).

Victory is mentioned in the *Mañjuśrīmūlakalpa.* A passage relates that enemies can be destroyed or defeated only by being shown the banner on which Mañjuśrī riding on a peacock is depicted.[2] The descriptions are almost identical, irrespective of the Tantras in which they are found.[3] This aspect of Mañjuśrī reminds us of Skanda, the Hindu god of war on a peacock.

The *vaśīkaraṇa* ritual connected with a peacock is referred to in at least two places of the *Mañjuśrīmūlakalpa.*[4] This

1. Cf. K. V. Zvelebil, (transl.), "Kumāratantra", p. 217n. For the mountains as the haunt of Murukaṉ and *aṇaṅku*, see K. V. Zvelebil, "The Nature of Sacred Power...", pp. 157–165.

2. Skt : Hastiskandhe mañjuśriyam agrato balasya dattvā darśanamātreṇaiva parabalasya bhaṅgo bhavati / dhvajāgre kumārarūpiṇaṃ sauvarṇamayūrāsanasthaṃ kṛtvā saṅgrāmam avataret/darśanād eva parabalasya bhaṅgo bhavati / (Skt., p 316, 11.17–20. Cf. The Chinese version, *Taishō*, vol. 20, p. 895c)

3. Cf. e.g. *Taishō*, vol. 20, pp. 794a, 796b, 805c–806a.

4. Skt.; p. 26, 11.21–22 (cf. Chin., *Taishō*, vol. 20, p. 849b); Skt., p. 31, 11.12–14 (cf. Chin., p. 857a). It is remarkable that the *Mañjuśrīmūlakalpa*, the vast collection of the Mañjuśrī cult, contains the passage

Buddhist Tāntric work introduces a *mudrā* named *mayūrāsana* which has the effect of inspiring sexual passion in young people. This reminds us of the function of *aṇaṅku* or Murukaṉ with *aṇaṅku* in ancient Tamil literature. In this connection I may remark that in later stages of Tāntric Buddhism, Mañjuśrī was occasionally identified with Kāmadeva, the Hindu god of love, and called Vajrānaṅga. Vajrānaṅga-mañjuśrī is discussed later.

Skanda / Murukaṉ is a two-sided god of benevolence and malevolence, whereas Mañjuśrī is known only as a beneficent bodhisattva in the Buddhist pantheon. The emphasis on the beneficent aspect is quite natural, considering that bodhisattvas in Buddhism are required to be merciful and compassionate as ideal human beings of absolute perfection. In the case of Mañjuśrī, however, the malevolent aspect seems to be well preserved in his *bhairava* incarnation. He assumes two forms: *saumya* and *bhairava.* The latter is called by the name of Yamāri or Yamāntaka-krodharāja. According to Vajrayāna texts, he has six faces, six arms and six legs, and is frequently called Ṣaṇmukha.[1] In this furious and wrathful form, Mañjuśrī undertakes the conversion of those who are otherwise difficult to convince. Yamāntaka is sometimes worshipped independently as the god of victory.[2]

In the Tāntric works dedicated to Mañjuśrī, minor female divinities, four in number, are sometimes mentioned under the name of Catur-bhāginīs or Catuṣ-kumārīs. They are Jayā, Vijayā, Ajitā and Aparājitā. In Buddhist Tantras they are often related to Mañjuśrī Bodhisattva. For example, in the Garbhakośamaṇḍala of the *Mahāvairocana-sūtra,* Mañjuśrī is

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which exhorts people to recite the *Mahāmāyūrī,* (Skt., p. 109, 1.28· Cf. Chin., p. 871b).

1. Cf. M.T. de Mallmann, *op.cit.,* p. 113f.
2. Cf. R. Sawa and others (ed.), *Mikkyō Jiten,* Kyoto, 1975, p. 455. A Japanese indologist proposes that there was Dravidian influence at work in the conception of the furious (*krodha*) divinities in the Buddhist Tāntric tradition (Y. Matsunaga, *Mikkyō no Rekishi* [=*The History of Esoteric Buddhism*], Kyoto, 1969, p. 20).

pictured as surrounded by these four goddesses who are his attendants. In the *Mañjuśrīmūlakalpa* the names of Jayā and Vijayā are found in the enumeration of various names of *yakṣinis*.[1] All the names of the four goddesses imply the concept of victory. In the *Kauṭilya-arthaśāstra* there is a description of the temples of four male deities: Aparājita, Apratihata, Jayanta and Vaijayanta.[2] Their names bear a remarkable resemblance to those of the Catur-bhāginīs. A. K. Chatterjee points out that the commentaries on the *Arthaśāstra* identify one of these male deities with Skanda.[3] In this context it may be remarked that in the Epics and Purāṇas, Skanda himself has the epithets Jaya and Vijayeśvara, indicating the concept of victory.[4]

A. K. Chatterjee mentions Ṣaṇmukha-subrahmaṇya attended by Jayā and Vijayā in the iconographical explanation of the South Indian text, *Śrītattvanidhi*.[5] These two bear the same names as two of the members of the Catur-bhāginīs accompanying Mañjuśrī in Tāntric Buddhist iconography. This fact is suggestive of the relation between Mañjuśrī and Skanda / Murukaṉ.

It is not certain whether this is of primary importance or not, but I may remark upon the curious resemblance in the implication of the words '*Mañjuśrī*' and '*Murukaṉ*'. Opinion is divided on the original meaning of the word '*muruku*' or '*murukaṉ*'. *A Dravidian Etymological Dictionary*,[6] for instance, gives four meanings for the word '*muruka*', *viz.* 'tenderness', 'tender age', 'beauty' and 'Skanda'. As for Mañjuśrī, his name

1. Skt., p. 20, 11.25-26. Cf. Chin., p. 847a. See F. Edgerton, *op.cit.*, p. 107.
2. *Kauṭilya-arthaśāstra*, 2-4. (Skt.: Aparājitāpratihatajayantavaijayanta-koṣṭhān śivavaiśravaṇāśvinśrīmadirāgṛhāṇi ca puramadhye kārayet //).
3. A. K. Chatterjee, *op.cit.*, p. 30f.
4. *Ibid.*, p. 94.
5. Cf. *ibid.*, p. 129.
6. T. Burrow and M. B. Emeneau, *A Dravidian Etymological Dictionary*, 4081.

and epithet are very frequently given in a compound noun, *e.g.* Mañjuśrī from *mañju* and *śri*, Mañjughoṣa from *mañju* and *ghoṣa*, and Mañjusvara from *mañju* and *svara*. In like fashion there are Mañjunātha, Mañju-vajra, Mañju-kumāra and so on.[1] From these examples we notice that '*mañju*' is the essential component of his name. This seems to be one of the reasons why, in China and in Japan, he is often called by the abbreviated name, Wen-shu, or, Man-shu, the transliteration of the Sanskrit *mañju*'. The Sanskrit '*mañju*' means 'lovely', 'beautiful', 'charming', 'sweet', 'pleasing', 'agreeable' and 'attractive'.[2] In the Tibetan version of Buddhist texts, '*maăjuśrī*' is translated into Tibetan as '*Hjam-dpal*', The Tibetan '*ḥjam*', corresponding to the Sanskrit '*mañju*', means 'soft', 'tender' and 'mild'.[3] What is meant by the Sanskrit 'ma*ñju*' is found to be very close to what is meant by the Tamil '*muruku*'. While it is quite interesting, I am not sure whether such a parallelism is coincidental or not.[4]

Incidentally, the Tāntric section[5] of *The Chinese Tripiṭaka of the Taishō edition* contains 573 works in total, which are considered to have been translatad from Sanskrit originals into Chinese. Among them we find 36 works[6] dedicated to Mañjuśrī

1. For the different appellations of Mañjuśrī, see A. Foucher, *op.cit.*, part II, p. 40.
2. Cf. M. Monier-Williams, *A Sanskri-English Dictionary*, p. 774; V. S. Apte, *The Practical Sanskrit-English Dictionary*, (revised & enlarged ed., 1957), p. 1221.
3. Cf. S. C. Das, *A Tibetan-English Dictionary*, p. 453; H. A. Jasehke' *A Tibetan-English Dictionary*, p. 174.
4. There is the opinion that the Sanskrit '*mañju*' is a derivative of the Tokharian word corresponding to the Sanskrit '*kumāra*' (cf. A. Getty, *The Gods of Northern Buddhism*, p. 110n.; C. Eliot, *Hinduism and Buddhism*, III, London, 1921, p. 221). But it seems irrelevant to me.
5. *Taishō*, vols. 18-21, nos. 848-1420.
6. *Taishō* nos. 966, 1101, 1171-1173, 1175-1179, 1181-1198, 1215-1219, 1242, 1276, 1299.

Bodhisattva.[1] While 8 works are dedicated to Gaṇeśa or Gaṇapati, the other son of Lord Śiva, no works are dedicated to Skanda-kārttikeya. Because there is no work dedicated to Skanda-kārttikeya, it does not necessarily follow that Buddhist Tantras did not know of him. It may simply mean that Skanda-kārttikeya was not common as the object of worship among the followers of Tāntric Buddhism, in spite of the popularity of Gaṇeśa among them. This may possibly suggest that Skanda worship in Hinduism was replaced or substituted by Mañjuśrī worship in Tāntric Buddhism. It is also possible that Buddhist Tāntric texts might have been compiled mainly in Northern India, where Skanda-kārttikeya lost his popularity after the Gupta period.[2]

III. INTENTIONAL IDENTIFICATION OF HINDU AND BUDDHIST DIVINITIES AND ITS SIGNIFICANCE IN THE BUDDHIST POLICY OF CONVERSION

(1) Vajrānaṅga and Kārttikeyamañjuśrī

We shall proceed to the problem of intentional identification of divinities and its significance in the Buddhist policy of conversion. I have already referred to the role played by the peacock in *vaśīkaraṇa* or the ritual for fascinating women. A Tāntric divinity named Vajrānaṅga is also connected with a similar kind of ritual. In the Sādhanas of a later stage of Buddhist Tantrism, Mañjuśrī is sometimes identified with Kāma, the youthful Hindu god of love, and called Vajrānaṅga. 'Anaṅga', which bears the meaning 'bodiless one', is an epithet

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1. *Taishō* nos. 1266, 1269-1275.

2. A. K. Chatterjee, *op.cit.*, p. 48. So far as the *Mañjuśrīmūlakalpa* is concerned, however, it would seem that the text was compiled in the area where Skanda-kārttikeya worship was prevalent. This will be considered later.

   It is interesting that many Śaiva divinities are found associated with Mañjuśrī in the Buddhist Tāntric texts. Cf. H. von Glasenapp, *Die Religionen Indiens*, Stuttgart, 1943, S. 268; A. K. Warder, *Indian Buddhism*, Delhi, 1970, p. 491; L. Joshi, *op.cit.*, p. 252.

of Kāma-madana in the Hindu pantheon. 'Vajra' indicates a divinity of the Vajrayāna, *i.e.* Tāntric Buddhism. In two Sādhanas of the *Sādhanamālā*,[1] Vajrānaṅga is a form of Mañjuśrī, particularly in the ritual for bewitching men and women. He has six arms in this iconographical representation. Apart from the arrow with which he pierces the bosom of a woman to bewitch her, he holds a flower-bow, a lotus, a sword, a mirror and a branch of the *aśoka*-tree. Iconographically, this image of Vajrānaṅga is very closely coincident with Kāmadeva of Hindu mythology. Kāmadeva must have been imagined with ease by those who heard the name of Vajrānaṅga and saw the iconographical representation.[2] Vajrānaṅga can be conceived of as being a Buddhist invention resulting from the 'intentional identification' between Mañjuśrī and Kāma.

Two divinities, Alimanmatha and Bhṛṅgānaṅga, are mentioned in Alimanmathasādhana of the *Sādhanamālā*.[3] 'Ali' and 'Bhṛṅga', both of which mean honey-bee, are the appellations of Kāmadeva in Hinduism. F. Edgerton infers that Alimanmatha and Bhṛṅgānaṅga are the epithets of Mañjuśrī and therefore that the Alimanmatha-sādhana of the *Sādhanamālā* is dedicated to Mañjuśrī.[4] If this is so, this may be recognized as another case of intentional identification.

What intention lies behind this kind of 'intentional identification' between Hindu and Buddhist divinities? We shall discuss this problem, citing Kārttikeyamañjuśrī' as an example.

1. *Sādhanamālā*, 59 (Vajrānaṅgabhaṭṭārakasādhana) and 60 (Vajrānaṅgamañjuśrīs dhana). Cf. M.T. de Mallmann, *op.cit.*, p. 50f
2. For the iconographical illustration of Vajrānaṅga, see B. Bhattacharya, *op.cit*, plate XIVc. It is interesting to note that no image of Vajrānaṅga has yet been discovered (*ibid.*, p. 23). Vajrānaṅga may have been a purely imaginary form of Mañjuśrī as the result of intentional identification, not the actual object of image worship.
3. *Sādhanamālā*, 73 (Alimanmathasādhana). Cf. M.T. de Mallmann, *op.cit.*, p. 50f.
4. F. Edgerton, *op.cit.*, pp. 68, 412.

The compound name 'Kārttikeya-mañjuśrī' is referred to in the *Mañjuśrīmūlakalpa*[1] which is a voluminous collection of the popular cults of Mañjuśrī Bodhisattva.

'Kārttikeyamañjuśrī' in question is mentioned in the second chapter which was incorporated with the *Mañjuśrīmūlakalpa* in a later period.[2]

The passage which first mentions 'Kārttikeyamañjuśrī' is as follows :

Kārttikeyamañjuśrīḥ mantro 'yaṃ samudāhṛtaḥ //[3]

Here *'kārttikeya-mañjuśrī'* has the nominative singular ending. Because *'mantro'yaṃ'* is also nominative, the sentence is untranslatable. The meaning of this passage cannot be clearly fixed due probably to poetic license and to irregular inflections peculiar to Buddhist hybrid Sanskrit, though what is meant by the sentence seems to be that this *mantra* was proclaimed by Kārttikeyamañjuśrī. Otherwise it may be possible to take the compound *'kārttikeya-mañjuśrī'* as a *bahuvrīhi* modifying *'mantraḥ'*. In this case, the sentence can be translated as 'This *mantra* which is (called) Kārttikeyamañjuśrī was proclaimed.'

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1. The Sanskrit manuscript was discovered in the extreme South India near Padmanabhapuram (cf. the preface to the Sanskrit edition, pp. 1–2). L. Joshi insists on the South Indian compilation of this Buddhist Tantra on the basis of its geographical descriptions (*op.cit.*, p. 256).

   The present writer obtained a microfilm copy of the original manuscript of the *Mañjuśrīmūlakalpa* through the courtesy of the National Archives of Nepal, Kathmandu. Unfortunately, in this manuscript, the second chapter and other portions are missing. So I have not referred to this manuscript in this paper. Hence the Sanskrit passages cited here are drawn only from T. Gaṇapati Śāstrī's edition, *i.e. The Āryamañjuśrīmūlakalpa*, Trivandrum Sanskrit Series, no. LXX (1920), LXXVI (1922), LXXXIV (1925).

2. Cf. the present writer's "Mañjuśrīmūlakalpa no maṇḍala to Seiritsu no Mondai [=A Chronological Study of the Mañjuśrīmūlakalpa, based on maṇḍalas and paṭas]", *Ronshū : Religious Studies East and West*, no. 6, 1979, pp. 1–19.

3. Skt., p. 33, 1.2. Cf. Chin., p. 852b.

In the Tibetan version[1] of the 11th century, *'kārttikeya-mañjuśri'* of this passage is translated as *'smin-drug-bu dañ ḥjam-dpal-gyis'*, *i.e.* *'Kārttikeya and Mañjuśri'*. The Chinese version[2] of the 10th century renders this word as *'miao-chi-hsiang p'u-sa'*, *i.e.* *'Mañjuśri Bodhisattva'*. Anyway it is note-worthy that, as far as the original Sanskrit sentence is concerned, *'kārttikeya-mañjuśri'* is declined in the singular, and not in the dual form.

The second passage referring to 'Kārttikeyamañjuśrī' is as follows:

> Eṣa mañjuśriyasya kumārabhūtasya *kārttikeyamañjuśrīr* nāma kumāraḥ anucaraḥ sarvakarmikaḥ japamātreṇaiva sarvakarmāṇi karoti, ... /[3]

Here also the meaning is not clear enough for similar reasons. But, despite these difficulties, this passage may be translated as follows: 'This (*mantra*) of the youth (or Kumāra as a Hindu god) named Kārttikeyamañjuśrī, who is the follower of Mañjuśrī-kumārabhūta, performs (or realizes) everything. Only being muttered (or, once it is muttered), (that *mantra*) performs (or realizes) any thing'. If the translation is correct enough, it may follow that 'Kārttikeyamañjuśrī' is a divinity different from 'Mañjuśrī-kumārabhūta' and that the former is a follower of the latter.

The Tibetan and the Chinese versions do not give a definite interpretation for this passage. It is at least certain that here also *'kārttikeya-mañjuśri'* has the singular termination.

The third passage runs as follows:

> Dvitīyadvārasamīpe *kārttikeyamañjuśrīḥ* mayūrāsanaḥ śaktipāṇiḥ raktāvabhāsamūrttiḥ pītavastranivastottarāsaṅ-

1. *Hphags-pa ḥjam-dpal-gyi rtsa-baḥi rgyud*, *Ōtani* (Peking edition) no. 162; *Tōhoku* (Sde-dge edition) no. 543.

2. The *Ta-fang-kuang-p'u-sa-tsang-wen-shu-shih-li-ken-pen-i-kui-ching*, *Taishō* no. 1191.

3. Skt., p. 33, ll.15-16. Cf. Chin., p. 852c.

ginaḥ dakṣiṇahaste ghaṇṭāpatākāvasaktaḥ kumārarūpī maṇḍalaṃ nirīkṣamāṇaḥ /[1]

This is the iconographical description of 'Kārttikeyamañjuśrī in the Mahāmaṇḍala of the *Mañjuśrīmūlakalpa*. It is noteworthy that here also the compound *'kārttikeya-mañjuśrī'* takes not the dual but the nominative singular declension. Although T'ien-hsi-tsai (?-1000), the Chinese translator, takes this compound to be a *dvandva-samāsa i.e. 'Kārttikeya and Mañjuśrī'*, yet it is proper to understand it as a *karmadhāraya*.[2]

Who and what is the divinity called 'Kārttikeyamañjuśrī'? In the same chapter of the *Mañjuśrīmūlakalpa* there is an iconographical explanation of the Hindu Kārttikeya. It runs as follows:

Kārttikeyaś ca mayūrāsanaḥ śaktyudyatahastaḥ kumārarūpī ṣaṇmukhaḥ raktābhāsamūrtiḥ pītavastranivastaḥ / pītavastrottarāsaṅgaḥ vāmahastena ghaṇṭāṃ gṛhītvā raktapatākāṃ ca anupūrvataḥ ... /[3]

This image of Kārttikeya (here Kārtikeya) is almost the same as that of 'Kārttikeyamañjuśrī' mentioned above. In the Mahāmaṇḍala of the *Mañjuśrīmūlakalpa*, 'Kārttikeyamanjuśrī' is located in the third enclosure (*tṛtīya-maṇḍala*) together with a large number of Hindu divinities. Mañjuśrī would not occupy such a subordinate position in a *maṇḍala*. In any case Mañjuśrī has been already placed in the innermost enclosure (*abhyantara-maṇḍala*) in the same *maṇḍala*. If 'Kārttikeyamañjuśrī' was none other than 'Mañjuśrī' himself, the latter would occupy two places in a *maṇḍala* at the same time. This is unacceptable.

1. Skt., p. 45, ll 12-14. Cf. Chin., p. 856b.
2. By reference to the Tibetan versions of the *Mañjuśrīmūlakalpa* and the *Tārāmūlakalpa*, A. Macdonald abandons *'mañjuśrī'* of the compound *'kārttikeyamañjuśrī'* and translates the passage in question as follows: 'Apres de la second porte, Kārttikeya, monte sur un paon, une lance en main ...' (*Le Maṇḍala du Mañjuśrīmūlakalpa*, Paris, 1962, p. 122f.). The implication of the appellation *'Kārttikeya-mañjuśrī'* should neither be overlooked nor underrated.
3. Skt., p. 44, 11.16-19. Cf. Chin., p. 856a.

This sentence referring to 'Kārttikeyamañjuśrī' is inserted in the iterative passages which again explain the iconographical details of deities already mentioned in the former paragraph. There is no doubt from the context that 'Kārttikeyamañjuśrī' in this passage is 'Kārttikeya' himself. All these are enough to conclude that 'Kārttikeyamañjuśrī' is none other than 'Kārttikeya' or, more precisely, 'Kārttikeya identified with Mañjuśrī. The truth seems to be that this identification in the Sanskrit text was so abrupt and so unexpected that the Chinese and Tibetan translators became confused and could not understand it properly.

(2) Intentional Identification and the Policies of Conversion of Buddhists

'Kārttikeyamañjuśrī' mentioned in the *Mañjuśrīmūlakalpa* is wrongly identified with a form of Mañjuśrī Bodhisattva by M.T. de Mallmann.[1] F. Edgerton's view is also questionable. He says that Mañjuśrī's regular title, Kumārabhūta, has led to curious blend with Kārttikeya in the *Mañjuśrīmūlakalpa*.[2] In spite of his view, the above examination tends to show us that 'Kārttikeyamañjuśrī' is not the result of a curious blend at all, but an example of intentional identification introduced by Buddhists.[3] Buddhists aimed at converting Hindus, more

1. M T. de Mallmann seems to consider the expression *'Kārttikeya-mañjuśrī'* to be the result of the 'confusion' of the two (*op.cit.*, pp. 44–46). She says, 'Skanda, avec lequel Mañjuśrī *se confond* des l'epoque de la redaction du MMK [=*Mañjuśrīmūlakalpa*]. ... deux passage de ce texte...ou cette *confusion* se manifeste de facon saissante.' (*ibid.*, p. 45). (The italics are mine.)
2. F. Edgerton, *op.cit.*, p. 414f.
3. M.T. de Mallmann denies Debala Mitra's identification of a rare type of bodhisattva image from Sāñcī with Vajradharmalokeśvara for iconographical reasons and identifies this image with a representation of Mañjuśrī, namely, 'Kārttikeyamañjuśrī' (*op.cit.*, pp. 44-45). It seems doubtful to me, however, whether images of 'Kārttikeya-mañjuśrī' were actually produced or not, taking into account that he may have been a figment of the imagination, prompted by the intentional identification of Kārttikeya and Mañjuśrī. In this context

particularly the devotees of Skanda-kārttikeya, by following a two-fold procedure: (1) the primary conversion of Skanda-kārttikeya by means of his intentional identification with the Buddhist counterpart, Mañjuśrī, and (2) the subsequent conversion of the worshippers of Skanda-kārttikeya to the Buddhist religion.

A similar intention of conversion may be observed in the following *mantra* in the *Mañjuśrīmūlakalpa*:

> Oṃ / Kumāra! Mahākumāra! krīḍa krīḍa ṣaṇmukha-bodhisattvānujñāta! mayūrāsanasaṅghodyatapāṇiraktāṅga! raktagandhānulepanapriya! kha kha khāhi khāhi khāhi /[1]

Here Kumāra-ṣaṇmukha (=Skanda-kārttikeya) is confirmed as a bodhisattva.

In like manner Brahmā is also designated as a bodhisattva:

> Oṃ brahma subrahma brahmavacase śāntiṃ kuru svāhā //
> Eṣa mantro mahābrahmābodhisattvena bhāṣitaḥ /[2]

It is clearly proclaimed in this passage that this *mantra* was revealed by Mahābrahmā Bodhisattva.

Not only Skanda-kārttikeya and Mahābrahmā but also minor deities are occasionally given the title of bodhisattva.[3] By designating them as bodhisattvas, Buddhists intended to lead the worshippers of various divinities of Hinduism to their own religion.

Another passage of the same work reveals the Buddhist design to attract Śaivites to Buddhism:

> Oṃ mahāmaheśvara! bhūtādhipativṛṣadhvaja! pralambajaṭāmakuṭadhāriṇe sitabhasmadhūsaritamūrti hum phaṭ

it should be remembered that no image of Vajrānaṅga has yet been discovered as stated above.

1. Skt., p. 32, 11.12–14. Cf. Chin., p. 852b.
2. Skt., p. 33, 11.19–21. Cf. Chin., p. 852c.
3. For example, Yakṣiṇīs such as Jayā, Vijayā, Ajitā and Aparājitā are designated as bodhisattvas (Skt., p. 33, 11.4–6. Cf. Chin., p. 852b).

phaṭ / bodhisattvo jñāpayati svāhā //
Eṣa mantro mayā proktaḥ sattvānāṃ hitakāmyayā /[1]

It is evident from the context that *'mayā'* (by me) indicates 'Mañjuśrī' who is called Mañjughoṣa in the preceeding paragraph. The *mantra* of Maheśvara or Śiva is ascribed to Mañjuśrī himself in this sentence.

Mañjuśrī indirectly claims the authorship of Śaiva Tantras in another sentence:

Vividhā guṇavistārāḥ śaivatantre mayoditāḥ /[2]

The same may be said of Vaiṣṇava scriptures. The following passage clearly shows it:

Ya eva vaiṣṇave tantre kathitāḥ kalpavistarāḥ //
Upāyavaineyasattvānāṃ mañjughoṣeṇa bhāṣitaḥ /[3]

Garuḍa Tantras are also attributed to Mañjuśrī Bodhisattva:

Yāvantaḥ garuḍe tantre kathitāḥ kalpavistarāḥ /
Te mayaivoditāḥ sarve sattvānāṃ hitakāraṇāt //[4]

What is meant by these passages is, in brief, that Hindu Tantras were originally revealed by Mañjuśrī Bodhisattva himself. As the logical conclusion, the conversion of Hindus to Buddhism becomes an accomplished fact. This technique of conversion may be called 'retrospective identification'.[5]

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1. Skt., p. 34, 11.7–9. Cf. Chin., p. 853a.
2. Skt, p. 34, 1.13. Cf. Chin., p. 853a.
3. Skt., p. 34, 11.4–5. Cf. Chin., p. 853a.
4. Skt., p. 34, 11 23–24. Cf. Chin., p. 853b.
5. The term used by A. Macdonald (*op.cit.*, p. 40. 'la politique d'*identification retrospective* avec les dieux l'hindouisme').
   Buddhists made strenuous efforts to lead Hindus to their own religion in one way or another. The following formula shows it symbolically:

   Ṣaṇmukha! ṣaḍbhuja! ṣaṭcaraṇa! rudram ānaya / viṣṇum ānaya / brahmādyān devān ānaya / mā vilamba mā vilamba/ jhal jhal maṇḍalamadhye praveśaya/ hum hum hum hum hum hum phaṭ phaṭ svāhā/ (Skt., p. 29, 11.4–7. Cf. Chin, p. 850b–c).

Such an innovative policy of conversion was devised by Buddhists as a last resort. No doubt there was serious rivalry or hostility between the two religions. Under such circumstances, through the conversional policy of identifying divinities, Buddhism approached very near to Hinduism, lost its identity and was finally absorbed into Hinduism.[1] The Buddhist policy of intentional identification was indeed a double-edged sword. The portion of the *Mañjuśrimūlakalpa* from which the passages are quoted in this paper is considered to have been compiled c. 7th or 8th century A.D.[2] Hence it necessarily follows that at that time, long before the dramatic finale of the total destruction of the Buddhist monasteries by the Muslim army in the 13th century, Buddhism already showed sig s of its gradual decay, or rather signs of its absorption into Hinduism.

Concluding Remarks

There are many adolescent or youthful deities known in Hinduism: the Maruts, Gandharva, Kāma, Kṛṣṇa, Kumāra-skanda-kārttikeya etc. They have essential characteristics in common with each other. Different from supreme and transcendental divinities they are endowed with dual character, benignant and malignant or are, at least characterized by mischievousness or capriciousness. Some of them are involved in the every ay life of people by their power of possession.

Ma juśrī orders his *krodha* incarnation, Ṣaṇmukha-yam ntaka to lead Hindu divinities such as Rudra, Viṣ u, Brahmā and others without hesitation, into the Buddhist pantheon. Cf. T. Maeda, 'Mikkyō no Keisei ni Kansuru Ichi Kōsatsu [=A Study on the Formation of Tantric Buddhism]", *Ronshū : Religious Studies East and West*, no 3.

1. According to S K Chatterji, in modern Bengal some Buddhist bodhisattvas are worshipped as Hindu divinities, *e.g.* Avalokite vara, Lokanātha and Lokeśvara worshipped as Śiva, and Tārā as Durgā (' uddhist Survivals in Bengal", *Select Writings*, New Delhi, 1978, p. 39f). This may be an example of the absorption of Buddhism into Hinduism as the inevitable result of this kind of intentional identification.

2. The present writer, *op.cit.*, pp. 1–14.

They often partake of the concepts of both singularity and plurarity.[1] It is very interesting that similar characteristics are also found in the demigods or semidivine beings of the Hindu pantheon who are usually categorized as 'demons'. The demonic characteristics of adolescent gods are not to be disregarded as being unimportant. It is not unlikely that the non- or pre-Aryan idea of gods is reflected not only in the concepts of demigods but also in those of adolescent gods of the pan-Indian Hindu pantheon.[2]

Several young deities are known in Buddhism. Mañjuśrī Bodhisattva of Mahāyāna is the most famous among them. It is almost certain that he epitomizes the qualities common to youthful gods in Indian tradition. Mañjuśrī shares such important characteristics with Kumāra-skanda-kārttikeya of Hindu myths that the former can be regarded as the Buddhist counterpart of the latter. The curious resemblance between the two led to their intentional identification by the Buddhists

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1. Gaṇeśa (Tamil: Piḷḷaiyār), since he shares several of these characteristics, may be classified among the adolescent gods of the same kind.

   The *māras*, Buddhist counterparts of the Hindu Kāmadeva, are plural malevolent beings. They appear in a group (*mārasenā*, *mārakāya*). The Pāli Buddhist canon sometimes mentions them as *yakkhas* (=*yakṣas*). For detail of their character, see T. O. Ling, *Buddhism and the Mythology of Evil, a study in Theravāda Buddhism*, London, 1962, pp. 44ff 172; J. R. Halder, *op.cit.*, pp. 157, 187f.

2. As to Kṛṣṇa, P. T. Srinivas Iyengar says, 'when ... the Āryan cult migrated to South India, the regional gods of South India were identified with the Āryan gods similar to them in function, the red god with Subrahmaṇya, the black god with Viṣṇu-Krishna, . '(*History of the Tamils: from the earliest times to 600 A.D*, Madras, 1929, p. 84). K. K. Pillay also says, 'It has been suggested that the worship of Kṛṣṇa had commenced very early, probably even earlier than the advent of the Iron Age. Kṛṣṇa is pre eminently a pastoral god, and from the circumstance that his personal colour has been described as black, he appears to have been a Dravidian god. ...Later on, Kṛṣṇa became identified with the Vedic Viṣṇu.' (*op.cit.*, p. 78).

of the Tāntric stage for the purpose of conversion. It is worth noting that some essential elements of Mañjuśrī worship are found to parallel those of pre-Āryanized Murukaṉ worship rather than those of Skanda-kārttikeya. It seems not improbable that Buddhism absorbed indigenous beliefs derived from some non-Āryan tradition in the process of forming Mañjuśrī worship. Nothing certain can be said about the South Indian origin of Mañjuśrī. Even if we allow that he has something to do with the non-Āryan or, more specifically, Dravidian concept of an adolescent god like Murukaṉ, we need not insist on the Southern origin of Mañjuśrī worship considering the probable extent of the Dravidian cultural substratum[1] over a much wider area than South India. This Dravidian cultural substratum is going to be revealed by various branches of scientific inquiry, particularly by linguistics and archaeology.

The point is whether some personified god like Murukaṉ should be supposed as the prototype of youthful gods in the Indian religions. It is still questionable whether the pre-Āryan religion had a definite conception of 'personified god' or not. In the case of pre-Āryanized Murukaṉ, for instance, his mode of worship without full anthropomorphism was commonly known in ancient Tamil Nadu. It seems more proper to assume that the pre-Āryan (Dravidian?) idea of the sacred matured into a personified god like Murukaṉ-subrahmaṇya[2] on the one hand and shared in the formation of the mythological characteristics of some of the other adolescent gods in India on the other.

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1. The importance of the Dravidian substratum of Indian culture was very early stressed by scholars. See, for example, the preface to the first edition (1894) of W. Crooke, *Popular Religion and Folklore of Northern India.*

2. In this connection it is to be noted that Murukaṉ himself may have been a composite deity. Cf. K. V. Zvelebil, *The Poets of the Powers*, London, 1973, p. 130f.

* I express my hearty gratitude to Mr. Michael Nixon. Mike has kindly gone through my typescript and taken the trouble to correct and improve my English.

8189

Thiru G. M. Muthuswamy: In his studies on "Vedic India" Professor Regozin has pointed out that Lord Siva was the God of Dravidians even prior to the advent of the Aryans and that a number of Dravidian Kings ruled over northern India.[1] Certain sections of the Dravidians were then called the sons of the Ganges. At the same time, the Sun was worshipped as Siva. The rising Sun in the east in the early hours of the day above the deep blue waters of the Ocean puts forth the appearance of a shining beautiful youth riding on a moving peacock. This aspect is stressed in the opening stanza in Thirumurukāṟṟuppaḍai.[2] The rising of the sun is announced far in advance by the cock and hence the cock adorns the flag of such a God. Among the several meanings given for the word "Muruka" beauty, divinity, tender age, youth, elevation are significant in as much as they depict Muruka as a divine beautiful, youthful personality. He is mentioned as "Cēyōn" in Tolkāppiyam the ancient Tamil grammar. In Sangam literature he is referred to in a number of places. Specific mention may be made of Paripāḍal Kuṟunthokai and Silappathikāram.

But epics and Purāṇas in Sanskrit contain apparently varying accounts in the names of Subrahmaṇya, Skanda, Kārttikeya and Kumāra. The name Subrahmaṇya is found in Rig Veda (VIII. 29.3) in association with the description of Brahmaṇaspati as beautiful in form holding an iron axe. Kānchipurāṇam in Tamil accepts the view that this name is pronounced thrice in Veda.

In Chāndogya Upanishad Skanda in the Venerable name of Sanatkumāra is referred to as having imparted the sublime teaching to Nārada. In Vālmiki Rāmāyaṇa it is mentioned that Kārttikeya was born as a result of union of Agni and Gaṅga

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1. Subramania Pillai M.A.,B.L., சைவசித்தாந்த வரலாறு, பக்கம். 20
2. உலகம் உவப்ப வலன் ஏர்பு திரிதிரு,
பலர் புகழ் ஞாயிறு கடற்கண்டாஅங்கு
ஓவர இமைக்குஞ் சேண் விளங்கு அவிரொளி
—திருப்பரங்குன்றம், 1-3.

and that Kārttikeya acquired the name of Tārakāri on account of his having defeated the demon Tāraka. In Mahābhārata there is a slightly different version. At the request of Devas, Lord Śiva on account of the need for a powerful leader to deal with Tāraka allowed his 'retas' to fall into fire. This was conserved by Gangā as a result of which Karttikeya was born.

In Bhagavad Gītā X. 24 we find Lord Krishna addressing Arjuna as follows 'Oh! Pārtha, Know me to be the chief priest among priests as Bṛhaspati, *Skanda among generals* and ocean among lakes'.

Of the eighteen ancient purāṇas in sanskrit ten are Śiva purāṇas, one of the important among them being Skanda with eighty one thousand stanzas. Sūta samhitā, one of the major divisions of Skandapurāṇa has a subdivision by name Śiva Rahasyam. This narrates the parentage of Skanda. On the basis of this account Kacciyappa Śivachāriar of Kānchipuram narrated the birth and achievements of Skanda, among other details, in 10343 Tamil verses. According to this version, at the request of gods for annihilation of Asuras through a powerful personality, Lord Śiva let from the six eyes of his six faces, six sparks of fire (the five familiar faces of Śiva are Īśāna facing upwards, Tatpurusha facing east, Aghora facing south, Vāmadeva facing north and Sadyojāta facing West. The sixth one called Adhomukha[3] 'downwards' is perceivable only by deep meditation). These six sparks descended first from (the atmosphere and passed on to the wind region whence it entered into the fire region. The fire which could not bear these sparks let them into the Ganges (the water element). This Ganges carried them to a pond on the land. They then turned out to be six children. Later Lord Śiva along with Umā visited this place to see these children. When Umā, out of fond affection, took them in her hands, the six children assumed one body with six faces and twelve arms. This child in the name of skanda

3. ஐந்து முகத்தோடு அதோ முகமும் தந்து —கந்தர் கலிவெண்பா

grew up and later killed Tāraka and annihilated Singamuka, Sūrapadma and others. The last stage depicts his having married Devasenā and Vaḷḷiammai.

Kālidāsa who is believed to have flourished in the beginning of fifth century has in his "Kumārasambhava" depicted Kumāra as the offspring of Lord 'Śiva and Umā'. In his other literary work, "Raghu Vaṁśa", the poet has referred to Kumāra as a peer to the Raghu princes on a number of occasions.

There is considerable significance in the meanings attributed to the several names such as Muruka, Subrahmaṇya etc. Muruka is considered as a rare and great name by poet Nakkīrar.[4] According to Saint Aruṇagirināthar this is singular in number, but plural in character.[5] Śivajñāna Munivar calls this name a "great word".[6] In Mathurai Kānchi Nachinarkkiniyar interprets Muruka as divinity. There are three consonants and three vowels in the Tamil word Muruka. If the consonants "r" and "k" are eliminated, we get at the praṇava Mantra 'OM" which consists of three letters.[7] Hence the practice has been for the devotees to chant 'Om' the name of Muruka as a Mantra. It is stated in puṟanānūṟu that Lord Muruka will find out all that His devotees wish and carry them into effect.[8]

The supreme lord in whom bliss shines or the Lord who confers bliss on his devotees is "Subrahmaṇya". When the six sparks of fire element reached the Saravaṇa pond from the Ganges, they assumed the form of six children and these children were fed with breast milk by the six Karttikai women. As a consequence, he acquired the name "kārttikeya".

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4. 'அரும் பெறல் மரபிற் பெரும் பெயர் முருக'[1]
—திருமுருகாற்றுப்படை, பழமுதிர்சோலை, வரி 269.

5. முருகா என்னும் நாமங்கள் —கந்தரலங்காரம், 70.

6. மகா வாக்கியம்

7. (ம்+உ+ர்+உ+க்)—(ர்+க்)=(ம்+உ+உ+அ)=ஓம்

8. 'முரு கொத்தியே முன்னியது முடித்தலின்

The author of the Tamil Kandapurāṇam says that because Umā Devi collected the six children as one, the lord acquired the name of Kandan.[9]

Some attribute another significance to this name. Devotees contemplate on Lord Śiva in the form of "Somāskanda". In this form, Kanda occupies a very dignified place in between 'Śiva and Umā. The combination of "Sa" (together with), "Umā" and "Skanda" brings forth the form of "Somāskanda". Sat is Siva; Cit is Sakti or Umā. If Sat and Cit happen to be seated together there will be bliss or Ānanda. Here there is Saccidānanda. Saccidananda is Skanda.

The name Kumāra denotes one who is capable of defeating in respect of beauty even Māra or Manmatha (beauty incarnation). It has to be noted that Kālidāsa had great fascination for this name.

There are other names like "Guha" ' Śaravana" "Viśākha", "Shaṇmukha" etc. Guha is a short Mantra. Guhai means a cave and this is mental cave. He who resides in the mental cave of devotees and protects them is 'Guha', The teaching that is imparted to devotees is "Guha Dīksha" which is prescribed in Kumāra Tantra'. 'Śaravaṇa' is six lettered Mantra. This indicates that he assumed the form of a child among the bushes in a pond which is known as "Śara" The letter "Śa" means good auspices, "ra" means "Sāttvik" qualities. "Na" has the meaning of war atmoshpere. "Bhava" means "to take birth". In short, "Śaravaṇa" refers to one who was born with auspicious brilliance and divine qualities as a war hero." "Viśākha" means that he was born when the star viśākhā was in the ascent. The name "Vēlan" is Tamil word referring to the fact that he holds the "vēl" or spear in his hand. This spear is wielded by Him not only to annihilate his opponents but also to protect his devotees in all ways and to wipe out

9. 'சேயவன் வடிவம் ஆறும் திரட்டி நீ ஒன்றாய் செய்தாய்
அதனாலே கந்தனாம் எனும் நாமம் பெற்றான்''

—கந்தபுராணம்.

their ignorance. There are devotees who chant the mantram "Vēlum Mayilum Thuṇai" (meaning "let the spear and the peacock be for our protection".

'Shaṇmukha' means that he has got six faces.

Thus it will be seen that the ancient Tamilian Muruka cult in course of a very long process of time, incorporated in it the cult of Skanda, Kārttikeya, Subrahmaṇya, Kumāra etc· found in Sanskrit purāṇas and epics.

As Āgamas like "Śiva Dharmottara" specify that Lord 'Śiva taught five Tamil Saints the Āgamas on the Mahendra mountain situated to the south of Pothikai mountain in the Tamil country. The presumption is that they were delivered in Tamil and that the present Āgamas in Sanskrit are those drawn from the Tamil āgamas.[10] Apart from the Śiva Agamas there were āgamas which deal with Muruka cult. They also appear to have been translated into Sanskrit in the name of kumāra Tantra etc. According to the principles and code of instructions laid down in Āgamas, a number of temples should have been constructed for Muruka. As Aryans did not have temple worship,[11] the different names of Muruka as adopted in the Sanskrit Āgamas appear to have been adopted in the Sanskrit Texts, like Kumāra Tantra. This can be illustrated by the close similarity between the form of the images of Muruka in certain temples with forms described in Kumāra Tantra.[12]

The first is the description of the form of "Śaktidhara". In this form, there are one face, two arms, the right one holding the "śakthi (spear)" and the left hand that puts down the evils is found placed on the thigh.[13] This form reminds

10. K. Subramaniya Pillai M.A.,B.L., History of Saiva Siddhanta 2nd Edtion p. 23.

11. History of South India - K. A. Nilakanta Sastri p. 64.

12. Hindu Iconography, p. 432.

13. Śaktidhara-Ekāsyam dvibhuam Vāme Vajram.................Icchāguṇa. kriyā s'akti rūpam Śaktidharam bhaje.

us of the rising sun with its piercing rays dispelling darkness, and energising all beings.

This form is found in the image of Muruka installed in the sanctum sanctorum of the temple on the hill top at Thiruttaṇi.[14]

The second is the form of Subrahmaṇya with one face and two arms; the left hand rests on the hip while the right hand offers refuge to the devotees.[15] This form may be taken to indicate Subrahmaṇya referred to in Rig Veda in association with Brahmaṇaspati. The image of Subrahmaṇya found in the temple at Thiru Idaikkazhi answers to this description to some extent.[16]

In the Skanda form, there is one face with two arms, the right arm holding a dagger and the other arm in the hip. This form may be taken as referring to the form of Skanda with the name of Sanatkumāra indicated in Chāndogya upaniṣad. This form conforms to the image of Dandāyudha Swami found in the Daṇḍāyudhapāṇi's temple at Palani.[17]

The Shaṇmukha form with six faces and Devasenā and Valliyammai on either side is a common feature in many of the South Indian Muruka temples. This form reflects the characteristic features found in the image of Śiva. Śiva has five faces, fifteen eyes, ten arms and two feet, numbering in all thirty two. Likewise thirty two characteristics are found in the Shaṇmukha form. They are, the six faces, twelve arms, twelve eyes and two feet. Hence it is held that there is no difference between 'Śiva and Muruga.[18]

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14. முருகவேள் திருமுறை 10-ஆம் திருமுறை—பக்கம், 690.
—தணிகைமணி, வ. சு. செங்கல்வராயப்பிள்ளை, M.A.,

15. Ekavaktam dvidordaṇḍam kaṭi baddhābhayāvintam
Taruṇāruṇa saṅkās'am Subrahmaṇyam upāsmahe.

16. முருகவேள் திருமுறை 10-ஆம் திருமுறை பக்கம். 691.
தணிகை மணி, வ. சு. செங்கல்வராயபிள்ளை.

17. முருகவேள் திருமுறை 10ஆம் திருமுறை பக்கம். 690

18. ' அருவமும் உருவுமாகி அநாதியாய்ப் பலவாய் ஒன்றாய்ப்
பிரமமாய் நின்ற சோதிப் பிழம்பதோர் மேனியாகக்

In Kumāra Tantra, the name of Jayā and Vijayā are found in the place of the names Devasenā and Vaḷḷiyammai. Evidently Jayā and Vijayā are the sanskrit versions of Devasenā and Valliyammai.[19]

Very convincing philosophical interpretations are given for different aspects of the origin of Muruka cult as developed at different stages. Saint Aruṇagirinathar who flourished in the fifteenth century has sung the greatness of Lord Muruka as presiding over hundreds of holy shrines in South India, apart from those at distant places like Benares in the north and Kathirkāma in Sri Lanka. It is no wonder that Muruka worship is firmly rooted in this country.

The Chairman thanked the leader and the participants for their interesting speeches and also the audience present.

கருணை கூர் முகங்கள் ஆறும் கரங்கள் பன்னிரண்டும் கொண்டு
ஒரு முருகன் வந்தாங்குதித்தனன் உலகம் உய்ய ! –கந்தபுராணம்

19. மயூரவாஹனோபேதம் சர்வலக்ஷண சம்யுதம்
ஜயாச விஜயா சைவ வாம தக்ஷிண பார்ச்வயோ
சர்வரலங்கார சம்யுக்தம் சர்வாபரண பூஷிதம்
ஷண்முகம் ச இதி விக்யாதம் ரக்தவர்ணம்
—முருகவேள் திருமுறை 10-ஆம் திருமுறை பக்கம் 701
தணிகைமணி செங்கல்வராயபிள்ளை, M.A.,

II

REPORT OF SEMINARS

The Institute of Traditional Cultures held a seminar at 3-15 P.M. on Thursday the 10th March 1983 in Room No. 48 of the Madras University Departmental Buildings on 'Islamisation of Indonesia – India's Role' led by Prof. Arun Das Gupta, Professor of History, University of Calcutta. Prof. P. Thirugnanasambandhan, M.A.,L.T., Director of the Institute presided. The following is a report of the proceedings of the seminar.

The Chairman introduced the Leader and spoke:

"Indonesia is a country with over 13,000 islands with a population of nearly 13 crores. Ptolemy called it 'India beyond the Ganges' presumably because he had noticed then Indian cultural influence in those islands. Though the country had trade connections with eastern and western countries its relation with the East was linguistic, cultural and social and with the west mainly commercial. Several of the traders who sailed from the Indian shores across the Bay of Bengal settled in the islands and married local brides. Among the Bataks of Indonesia we hear names such as Tyoliya, palawi and Pandiya which remind us of the Cholas, Pallavas and Pandyas. Takang is reminiscent of Tekkanam or Deccan-dakṣiṇa bhūmi. Words such as kandai is used to denote the sail, kapal for kappal or ship mutu for muttu or pearl, pendam for bandha.

East Sumatra is famous for the kingdom of Sri Vijaya founded in the 7th century. It became a renowned centre of Buddhist learning. Political relationship with South India was forged during this peroid. By the 8th century the kingdom extended to Malaccan peninsula. Under this Sailendra government (750-850 A.D.) Borobudur was built. The temple was restored with Unesco assistance in recent years. In the 13th cent. literature and arts flourished under the patronage of the Majapahit kingdom.

In Bali islands, stronghold of Buddhism we have the mystic exposition of the Old Javanese branch of the Saiva Siddhanta such as the Bhuvanakośa and Bṛhaspatistava. They consist of Sanskrit ślokas accompanied by Old Javanese commentary. There are translations of Mahābhārata and Brahmāṇḍa purāṇa.

The acme of Hindu-Javanese culture including Buddhist elements was reached in the 8-10 centuries. The oldest Balinese inscriptions are written in Sanskrit and Old Balinese. Hindu mythological motives are present even in modern Balinese art.

Trade between the Indonesian archipelago and India, Persia and other Middle Eastern Countries resulted in the spread of Islam to Indonesia. Besides trade Islamisation was hastened by missionising on the part of those who came for trade as well as intermarriage between the Islamic newcomers and local people. The island of Sumatra, being closest to the middle East was the first to receive the Islamic religion followed next by Java and other islands. Muslim life had been developing since the seventh century. The first Islamic kingdom created was that of Samudra Pasai on the north-east coast in 13th century.

Although Hindu and Buddhist religion and culture had been at work in Indonesia long before the spread of Islam, eventually they waned with the emergence of Islamic cultural inflnence that had come to stay. The art of statuary which had flourished during the Hindu era was unable to develop after the permeation of Islamic ideas for obvious reasons. It exists today only in places such as Bali where Hindu and Buddhist religions are strongest. The manner of worship of Hindu and Buddhist adherents contributed to the arts of stone and wood carving. Wellknown tales such as the legend of Amir Hamzah uncle of Prophet Muhammad form the theme of the puppet theatre in Java.

Although the majority of the Indonesian people are adherents of the Islamic faith, the religious life of followers of the Protestant, Roman Catholic, Hindu, Buddha, and Kong

Hu Cu faiths is also protected. Each is free to worship according to the tenets of his own religion. Amongst the various communities it is harmony and not mutual antagonism which is cultivated.

The number of places of worship of the Islamic community in 1978/1979 was 423,570. The number of Protestant churches in 1979 was 31,909 and Roman catholic churches was 7,121.

The number of Hindu temples in 1979 was 4,408 and Buddhists temples was 1,779.

The Chairman then requested the Professor to lead the Seminar:

Prof. Arun Das Gupta : I consider it to be a great honour to be invited to speak at the Institute of Traditional Cultures of the University of Madras. It is a society associated with the name of Professor Nilakanta Sastri who was a great pioneer in exploring India's relations with Southeast Asian countries.

It is very often assumed that India had close cultural relations with Southeast Asia in the classical Hindu-Buddhist period but thereafter this cultural link was snapped. Much later in the modern times in course of the anti-colonial struggle India and Indonesia came nearer each other. In a sense Nehru, Sukarno and Hatta shared a common vision. I wish to begin by asserting that there is a continuity in India's relation with Indonesia through history. In the 13th century when Islam came to Indonesia the economic and cultural contacts with India were not discontinued.

In 1292 when Marco Polo was resting in North Sumatra on his way to Persia he observed that one of the small North Sumatran kingdoms Ferlec (Perlak) had embraced Islam. Historians have generally agreed that this marks the beginning of the process of Islamisation in Indonesia. Individual Muslims were known to have lived in Sumatra soon after the appearance of Islam itself in Arabia. In fact Arabs and Persians had been trading with the eastern countries even before they had

been converted to Islam. When Islam spread many of the former traders took to the new religion. There were Muslims all along the trade route to China. As early as 758 A.D. Muslim settlers of Canton rose in rebellion. Muslim envoys represented the Buddhist kingdoms of Sumatra in the court of China. But presence of individual Muslims in Indonesia was one thing and Islamisation was quite another. The latter began when the rulers of kingdoms accepted the new religion and made their subjects do the same. Historians have wondered why there exists a gap of about five hundred years between the appearance of the first Muslims in the archipelago and the beginning of Islamisation. No satisfactory explanation has yet been found. Perhaps Hindu-Buddhist influence was quite strong up to the 13th century to be able to resist a foreign religion. It is also possible that certain important changes followed the sack of Baghdad in 1258 by the Mongols. It has been suggested, contrary to what is generally believed, that Islam was not a proselytising religion at the beginning. It became so only with the rise of Sufism. Whether this theory is correct or not the fact remains that Sufi missionaries spread out in all directions. They were quite active in the Indian sub-continent and beyond India they reached Sumatra.

The earliest centre of Islamic activity in Sumatra was Samudra-Pasai, a kingdom located in North Sumatra. As early as 1297 one finds evidence of a Muslim ruler Malikul Saleh whose gravestone has been discovered. It seems that Samudra was converted to Islam about the same time as Perlak. Ibn Batuta visiting Samudra-Pasai in about 1345 found Sufi religion well established there although the neighbouring regions still adhered to earlier religions. Pasai remained the main centre of diffusion of Islam for about a century before it spread to Malacca in southern Malaya. From Malacca Islam was taken to North Java towns by the Javanese and thence it was carried to the Moluccas. In the 15th century Islam spread along the coasts of Sumatra, Malaya, Java and Borneo. In the following century it penetrated the agrarian interior of Java and put an end to Hindu rule. When Islam overtook Java

many adherents of the older Hindu religion moved over to the neighbouring island of Bali and built up in that island a stronghold of Hindu religion and culture which survives to this day. To-day 95% of Indonesian population is Muslim and the remaining 5 per cent includes Hindus, Buddhists and animists.

Some Indians who are strongly attached to the Hindu-Buddhist tradition of ancient India cannot accept with equanimity the fact of Indonesia's conversion to Islam. I have been asked by many respectable scholars of Indian history to explain why a people who had built the Borobudur and the Prambanan chose to switch their religious allegiance to Islam. What happened? Well, if you come to think of it there is nothing uncommon and mysterious in Indonesia's acceptance of Islam. Within the subcontinent of India large chunks of population have gone over to Islam in areas once dominated by Hinduism and Buddhism. In central Asia Mahāyāna Buddbism had yielded to Islam. Why can't the same thing happen in Sumatra? The process which was operating within India could very well be extended to Indonesia. In fact one should not assume that Islam in Indonesia caused a sharp break with the traditional culture of Indonesia, nor should one jump to the conclusion that it meant a snapping of relations with India. The purpose of my talk to-day is to argue that Indians played a significant role in Islamisation of Indonesia and through this process India continued to have direct economic and cultural connections with Indonesia.

Who carried Islam to Indonesia? There is no agreed answer to this question. For a long time it was believed that Gujaratis brought Islam to Sumatra and Malacca. Even now the common Indonesians believe that they owe their Islam to Gujaratis. However, there are competing theories pleading the claims of Tamils and Bengalis. At the present moment the Indonesians seem to be in a mood to favour the theory that missionaries from Arabia itself were responsible for the spread of Islam in Indonesia. Recently some evidence points to Chinese initiative in this matter, particularly in some areas of North Java.

Taking everything into consideration it appears that it is sensible to take a pluralistic view of the question. Gujaratis, Tamils, Bengalis, Arabs and the Chinese may have all contributed to the process at different places and at different times.

Historians also disagree on the question of the manner of conversion and in fixing the right agent for it. It is generally accepted that Muslim traders carried Islam to Indonesia. Regarding the spread of Hindu influence in the archipelago the Dutch scholar J. C. Van Leur had objected to the idea of its being transmitted by merchants. He thought that traders could not have been carriers of such a sophisticated religion like Hinduism. In the case of Islam, however, this argument does not apply. Islam is a common man's religion and traders have no difficulty in carrying it to new lands. Another Dutch scholar Bernard Schrieke has drawn special attention to the role of Shahbandars in converting the coastal rulers of Indonesia to Islam. Then one has to think of the Sufi preachers, the walis, that is the religious person who was competent to disseminate the message of Islam. It should be remembered that many of these traders or Shahbandars or missionaries had gone to Indonesia from India. From the 13th century onwards the coastal Muslim population of India maintained close connection with the port-towns of Sumatra, Malaya and Java through the Indian Ocean trading network. The Muslim Gujarati collaborated with the Muslim Achenese, Javanese and the Macassarese. Once Islam had been introduced through these agencies it spread across the archipelago by peaceful methods such as intermarriage or persuasion or through force. On the whole the progress of Islam in Indonesia was peaceful. However in central Java violent conflicts did occur between the Muslims and those sticking to older religions.

How deep is the impact of Islam on Indonesian society? It seems correct to hold that Indonesia happens to be a region where Islam has not succeeded in eliminating the preceding cultures. In many parts of the archipelago Islam has come to

terms with the indigenous cultures. In Sumatra the impact of Islam is quite deep. Most of the pilgrims to Mecca passed through Acheh in North Sumatra. Western Indonesia is on the whole more orthodox in its adherence to Islam. It is said that Islam sits lightly on a Javanese. This view is only partially correct. The city population is closer to Islam than the village folk. The broad division between the *santri* and the *abangan* is superficially speaking the difference between the devout Muslim and the common folk still attached to animism or a crude form of Hinduism. Generally speaking the culture of Java is known to be syncretistic, that is to say it combines elements of older cultures with Islam. The persistence of elemnts of Indian culture in Java has forced Islam to come to terms with the earlier formations.

Islam does not represent a rupture with traditional culture in Indonesia. Indonesia is a world of islands always exposed to outside influence. In course of time it has developed a way of dealing with foreign cultures. One can talk of a deeper substructure made up of animism and elements of ancestor worship. Then there is an upper structure acting as the recipient of foreign cultures. Some Dutch scholars tend to play down the impact of Indian culture on Indonesia in the classical Hindu-Buddhist period suggesting that it remained confined to the upper layer of society and did not reach out to the people. There cannot be any doubt that this view is exaggerated. Originally Hindu culture may have been borrowed by the Indonesian aristocracy but in course of time it wove itself into the general fabric of Indonesian culture. Even common people are affected by it. Passing on to the Islamic period one cannot hold by any stretch of imagination that the Muslim religion rests on the upper level of society and that deeper down Indonesians remain attached to a form of animism. Islamisation, in which the Indians had played a major role, has become part and parcel of the Indonesian world-view. To-day when Indonesia, like all other Asian countries, is facing the problem of adjusting to the West, it is doing so as a predominantly Muslim country. Yet it would be wrong to

ignore the fact that Indonesia is not like any other Muslim country. It has a uniqueness of its own — a uniqueness legitimately derived from its own historical development. Only by looking at Indonesia as an autonomous growth can we hope to understand the cultural complex it represents. That culture no doubt contains within itself indigenous and Indian, West Asian and European elements. But as it evolved through history throwing up as an end product a special combination of culture traits which gives Indonesia its distinction, it was in constant contact with India. At every stage of its development India meant something to Indonesia. The interaction that went on through history has kept India and Indonesia in the same cultural orbit of Indic civilisation. India and Indonesia are two different countries with two distinctive cultures and yet the family resemblance cannot be missed.

In conclusion, the Chairman thanked the leader and the audience.

III

REPORT OF SEMINARS

The Institute of Traditional Cultures held a symposium on 'Śiva Worship' at 3 P.M. on Wednesday the 16th March 1983 in the CASP-Conference Room of the Department of Philosophy, University Centenary Building. Dr. S. S. Janaki, Curator, the Kuppuswami Sastri Research Institute, Madras-4, led the seminar. Prof. P. Thirugnanasambandhan, M.A.,L.T., Director of the Institute presided.

Dr. S. S. Janaki and the following participants presented the papers on the subject noted against their names:

Dr. S. S. Janaki	Śiva and Śiva Worship
Mr. Wayne Surdam	The Offering of Eight Flowers (Aṣṭapuṣpapūjā)
Sri K. A. Sabharatna Sivacharya	Śivalingārchana
Dr. (Miss) Nienke Kruger	Śiva Worship in Thiruvāchakam

The following is the report of the proceedings of the symposium.

Dr. S. S. Janaki: Hinduism is one of the oldest religions in the world and also one that continues to be a living religion as well upto date. This uniqueness is due to its appeal to people of different levels of mental development and attitudes. It is more a faith and a way of life. The basic concept is the belief in the existence of a Supreme Being (*Brahman*) who is the prime cause of everything and is possessed of considerable unique powers. This Being is without beginning or end, above time, space and causation. It is Being without attributes (*Nirguṇa*). There is on the other hand a Being conceived with some particular form and activity (Saguṇa), for the benefit of the ordinary run of mankind. In fact the Supreme Being is

said to possess three distinct aspects as one with form (*Rūpa*), as one that is formless (*Arūpa*), and as one that is both with and without form (*Rūpārūpa*). According to Śaiva Āgamas the Arūpa-aspect is represented by Śiva, Śakti, Nāda and Bindu, the Rūpa-aspect by Brahmā, Vishṇu, Rudra and Maheśvara and the Rupārūpa by Sadāśiva.

சிவன் சக்தி நாதம் விந்து, ஸதாசிவன் திகழுமீசன்.
உவந்தருள் ருத்திரன், மால், அயன்; ஒன்றின் ஒன்ருய்
பவந்தரும் அருவம் நாலு, உருவம் நாலு, உபயம் ஒன்றே
நவந்தரு பேதம் ஏகநாதனே நடிப்பன் என்பர்.

These varied forms of worship although they take diverse approaches, are part and parcel of Hinduism.

Śiva is one of the gods of popular Hinduism. Evidence of early forms of Śaivaite religion is available to us in the Paśupati-Yogīśvara of the Indus people and the red god Śivan of the proto-Dravidians. The name Śiva hardly occurs in the *Ṛgveda* as a proper name. It is often mentioned to refer to many gods of the pantheon, in the sense of 'Propitious' and once indeed to Rudra himself (*Ṛv*. X. 92.9), which name is found many times in this early Vedic text. Rudra, the prototype of Śiva in the *Ṛg Veda,* is represented in it as a terrible and powerful god, and in one hymn (II. 33), the term Vṛshabha is applied to him; he is also called the doctor of doctors (भिषक्तमं त्वा भिषजां शृणोमि) Īśāna, Yuvan, Ugra etc. The *Yajur Veda* is a mine of information about Rudra, his triumphs over the asuras, whose three cities (*tripura*) he destroys; and about his magnificent power in the sacrifices etc. It is the *Śatarudrīya* which draws together all the floating conceptions regarding Rudra-Śiva of the early Vedic hymns, and provides a fresh starting-point for new developments which culminate in the theistic Vedānta of the *Śvetāśvatara:* the biography of Śiva was developed from the stray hints of an earlier time into the elaborate legends narrated in the later Upanishads and the Śaiva Purāṇas. The *Śatarudrīya* came to occupy a large place in later Śaivism. Its *japa* was considered a sure vehicle to immortality, the expiation for all sins and the means of

attaining release. The importance of the *Śatarudrīya* has also been emphasised in the *Periya Purāṇam.*

The god Śiva who emerges from the early Vedic, epic and Purāṇic literature is a complex personality; His concept and symbolism have been variously explained and visualised by scholars and devotees. The gross-minded worshippers may take him to be the God of destruction, dwelling in the lonely mountains or in the cremation ground. But to the evolved devotee he is the embodiment of renunciation and the destroyer of evil. He is besides, the personification of contemplation and divine consciousness.

As regards the worship of Śiva we do not have a clear picture until we come to the first few centuries of the Christian era. For, it is during this time that a crystallisation process was under way leading to information of more or less defined Śaivite doctrines and systems. The fundamental tenets of these systems are found in the large corpus of Śaiva Āgamas, Upāgamas (simplified Āgamas) and the Paddhatis (recasts). These Āgamic texts provide detailed information on methods of worship and ritual practice, ranging from the selection of the site for the temple, upto the installation of the deity (कर्षणादि प्रतिष्ठान्त), as also the *nitya* (daily), *naimittika*, *vārshika* (yearly), *kāmya* and *prāyaścitta* rites to be conducted in such temples and details about the persons who are to conduct the rituals.

The worshipping of God in the image of clay or stone can happen either for the community at large (*Parārtha pūjā*), in a public place like a temple or for the individual at home (*Ātmārtha-pūjā*). Instead of worshipping God in an image it is possible to worship Him in the image of the human body regarding it as a temple or a house of the divine which dwells and shines in the hearts of all. There is a well-known verse which gives the idea of the correspondence between the temple and the human body.

देहो देवालयः प्रोक्तः जीवो देवस्सनातनः ।
त्यजेद् अज्ञाननिर्माल्यं सोऽहंभावेन पूजयेत् ॥

Through the worship of the all-pervading microcosm we come to realise Him also in the macrocosm, of which the former stands as the miniature symbol, and finally we are blessed with the vision of the infinite that is not limited by its manifestations and transcends all relativity and limitations. This is one of the practical forms of worship through symbols which is found very helpful in the lives of many.

Conversely the temple too symbolises only the Lord dwelling in the inner recess as shrine of an individual's heart. It is common in the Upanishads to call our heart the *guhā* or cave wherein is the Self, the indwelling divinity to be adored. It is well to remember in this connection that our earliest temples of the historical times, such as were brought into being by the Pallava kings were all shrines, excavated out of rocks. The Cave-temple is the very symbol of the Cave within our hearts. It was only later on that more structural edifices like the *vimāna* and various types of *maṇḍapas* were added.

The temple, whatever its size or the number of shrines within, always goes with the basic and original symbolism of the Lord dwelling in the inner recess of our hearts. Taking the *garbhagriha* as the core-point, whether we have the vertical structure of the Vimāna above or the horizontal structures of the *maṇḍapas,* the symbolism of a person's head, heart, body etc. and also of the six *chakras* within the human system-*Mūlādhāra, Svādhiṣṭhāna* etc. have been always considered to be in correspondence. In the symbolism of the temple and the deity within, like Śiva, the feet and toes of Man are said to correspond to the frontal *gopura* with Kalaśas, the Dhvajastambha to the genital parts, (corresponding to Mūlādhāra and Svādhiṣṭhāna), the Balipīṭha to the navel (Maṇipūraka), the bull Nandi to heart (*Anāhata*) and the Garbhagṛha to Brahmarandhra.

Great ācāryas and devotees like Śaṅkara and Abhinavagupta have incorporated this idea of correspondence of *Deha* and *Devālaya* in some of their beautiful Stotras. In fact in *Kāśī Pañchaka,* Śaṅkara says that the Body is the holy Kāśī, Wisdom is Gangā, devotion and faith are Gayā, contemplation

at the feet of Guru is Prayāga. So the Ācārya says — if everything abides in myself, is there any other shrine besides it?

In the *Śivapañcastavī* Bilhaṇa echoes the same idea—

सत्यप्यायतने तनौ किमपरं देवं नरोऽर्चिष्यति ।

In his *Dehastha-devatā-cakra-stotra* in 15 verses Abhinavagupta considers the several centres in the Sādhakas's body itself being of the form of all deities. Thus he works out the correspondence between Prāṇa and Gaṇapati, Cit and Ānanda-bhairava, Buddhi and Brahmāṇī etc.

संस्फुरदनुभवसारं सर्वान्तः सततसन्निहितम् ।
नौमि सदोदितमित्थं निजदेहगदेवताचक्रम् ॥

Appar in his hymn "Kāyame koyilāha" says that the body itself is the temple and the subjugated mind itself is the servant there. In one of the Abhanga (No. 45) Ekanath echoes the same idea 'My body is Paṇḍharī (Shrine) and my soul is Viṭṭhala". Elevating is the life-story of the Nāyanār Pūsalār, a poor brahmin of Tiruninṟavūr in the Kāñchī region, who desired to raise a temple to Śiva and went through the entire construction completely in his mind, following every detail of Āgamas and architecture. The Lord is said to have condescended to be consecrated inside this mentally created temple of Pūsalār, rather than at the Kailāsanātha temple built by the great Pallava king, Rājasimha.

I have dealt with the Deha-Devālaya equation at some length for this is basic to the proper understanding of the rituals at home and at the temple, the performance actually performed (*Bahir-Yāga*) or mentally visualised (*Antar-Yāga*). For a detailed study of the various rites shows that the general principles of *Parārtha* and *Ātmārtha* Pūjās, *Antar-Yāga* and *Bahir-Yāga* are almost the same.

It would be of interest here to deal with at some length the constitutents of Śiva-Pūjā, and symbolism of a few of these as mentioned in the Āgamic texts. Of course in general these rituals are intended to effect an elevation of the Spirit, an

attunement of the heart and a deepening of the devotee's being. Even before starting the Pūjā the Āgamas prescribe a detailed routine for the Śiva-worshipper, starting with the cleaning of his teeth (*danta-dhāvana*) and going through the rites of bath, Sandhyā worship, and purity of the *ātman*, *deha* and the *bhūtas*. The preliminary rites prepare the worshipper for his complete surrendering and transformation to some extent or almost equal to Śiva. शिवीभूय शिवं यजेत् is a basic dictum in the Siddhānta tradition and this gradual conversion to the status of Śiva is possible only if the devotee has belief, and sincerity in the rites performed, along with the proper understanding and visualisation (Bhāvanā) of their significance and symbolism. Before starting the regular Pūjā the worshipper has the ritual imposition (*nyāsa*), first with the fingers in the hand, and then on the different parts of his body. The Aṅga and Karanyāsas are together called *Sakalīkaraṇa*. At the end of these Nyāsas, from head to foot, the body is touched with both the hands turned inward and this is callad *Mahāmudrā* or *Paramīkaraṇa*. The proper performance of *Sakalīkaraṇa* and *Paramīkaraṇa* is said to elevate the worshipper from the human to the divine level. Gradually he feels the presence of Śiva within and without. The other Pūjā rituals which follow reiterate and insure this presence of the Lord further. The Āgamas prescribe sixteen rites or *upacāras* in the minimum in connection with the Pūjā. The cordialities that form part of the rituals are oriented to infuse life in the image and establish the presence (*sannidhi*) of the deity. Thus the deity is really present in the temple or at home, and will continue to exist and bless the devotees as long as the priest or the individual performs as prescribed in the Āgamas, all rituals, personal and also for the temple. The following Subhāṣita also emphasise this idea—

न काष्ठे विद्यते देवो न पाषाणे न मृण्मये ।
भावेषु विद्यते देवः तस्माद्भावो हि कारणम् ॥

The *Bhāgavata* X. B. 84.11. echoes the same idea—

न ह्यम्मयानि तीर्थानि न देवा मृच्छिलामयाः ।
ते पुनन्त्युरुकालेन दर्शनादेव साधवः ॥

The *upacāras* in connection with the worship slightly vary in the various Āgamic texts and manuals, but sixteen rites are prescribed as the minimum. The first of these *upacāras* is the invitation for the deity to be present (*āvāhana*) and the 16th is waving of series of lights (*dipa ārādhana* or *ārātrika*), for the deity that has been established. After this final *upacāra* camphor light (*Karpūra*) is shown before the deity. This symbolises the release of the individual soul from the three types of bonds due to *Karma* (action), *Āṇava* (egoism) and *Māyā* (illusion). The whole camphor burns up immediately on contact with fire, completely loses its form and nature, and merges into the ethereal space (*parama-ākāśa*). So also the individual possessed of Sattva guṇa (corresponding to the white camphor) in contact with the fire of Supreme knowledge, gets rid of all connate impurities and is finally released from the worldly bondage.

Now going back to the *Upacāras* and their symbolism, the preliminary rites consist of *āvāhana* (invitation), *sthāpana*, (establishing), *sannidhāna* (feeling his presence), *nirodhana* (controlling his movement) *avaguṇṭhana* etc. These rites along with water for sipping and for washing the feet (*ācamana*, *pādya*), flower-worship etc. are called ten Samskāras or in Trilocana Śivācarya's *Siddhāntasārāvali*.

आवाहन-स्थापन-संनिधान-निरोधन-अवगुण्ठन-सौघमुद्राः ।
पाद्यं तथा चाचमनार्घ्य-पुष्पदानं मता संस्कृतयो दशैव ॥

A question may arise here – Since the Lord is all-pervasive, where is the necessity for inviting him? To this the Āgamas say that just as the fire is present within the fuel throughout, but by churning, fire is lit in one particular place so also, the *āvāhana kriyā*, manifesting the *Cid-Vyakti* in a limited place is not in conflict with the omni-present lord.

आमूलाग्रस्थितस्याग्नेर् अभिव्यक्तिर्यथा तरौ ।
तद्वदेकत्र चिद्व्यक्तिः व्यापकस्य न बाध्यते ॥
अत्र आवाहनमिति मनोव्यापारः ।
स च निरतिशयश्रद्धाविशेषः ।

The supplication of the devotee that the Lord should stay for his worship is Sthāpana.

अत्र स्थाप्यत इति स्थापनम् ।
मदनुग्रहार्थं भगवान् कृपानिधिः
लिङ्गादावास्त इति श्रद्धया मनोभावः स्थापनम् ।

Sannidhāna is feeling the presence of the Lord, as also the relationship between the devotee and the god as the favoured and the favouring (*anugrāhya* and *anugrāhaka*). *Nirodhana* is the sincere request that the Lord may stay with the Bhakta permanently.

निरुध्यत इति निरोधनं, भगवान् परशिवः सततं मयि
अनुग्रहपरो भवेदिति प्रार्थनाविशेषो निरोधनम् ॥

Avagunṭhana is the imaginary circle created round the devotee with Kavaca mantra so that the Lord may manifest Himself in *the now* Divyaśarīra of the devotee.

Thus all these preliminaries create a proper atmosphere and feeling in the devotee. Under such involvement, he then offers flowers anoints the Lord, presents Him with new clothes etc. Gradually the devotee feels the presence of the deity externally and internally. In such a state the water offered for ablution (*abhiṣeka*) is the symbol of the spontaneous supernal love for the deity.

தம்மிற் சிவலிங்கங் கண்டதனைத் தாம் வணங்கித்
தம்மன்பால் மஞ்சனநீர் தாமாட்டி.

The various *upacāras* thus help the devotee to be gradually purged of the dross and materialist in himself, to be elevated from the gross level to the higher divine plane. According to the *Siddhāntasārāvali*, the upacāras are related to the five elements *pañca-bhūtas*. Thus scented unguents, flowers and fruits etc. correspond to Pṛthvī (earth) *ācamana*, *pādya*, curds, *pañcagavya* to Ap (water); ornaments, waving of lights etc. to Agni (fire); incense, fanning etc. to Vāyu (air); Music, bell-sound etc. to Ākāśa (ether).

गन्धो मूलफलादिकन्दकुसुमादि अन्नादिकं पार्थिवं
च आप्यं वारि पयपटादिदधिकं चाग्नेयामिष्टं मणिः ।
दीपाद्याभरणादि मारुतं अतो धूपं तथा चामरं
घण्टागीतरवादि नाभसं अमी पञ्चोपचाराः शिवे ॥

This is the general plan and symbolism of Pūja as given in the Kriyāpāda of the Āgamas. This is called *Satputramārga.* This is a vast and fresh field of investigation and much work needs to be done in this direction. No doubt there is a mine of information available in the Āgamic texts and also known to some authentic Śivacāryas. A careful study and field work on this matter becomes therefore absolutely necessary.

Mr. Wayne Surdam: The adoration of Śiva as the absolute and supreme deity takes many forms ranging from elaborate rituals of worship performed in established temples to silent meditation on the deity in the inner recesses of the devotee's heart. Although rituals and patterns of worship vary among the numerous sects, most devotees of Śiva are familiar with the simple offering of eight flowers, the *aṣṭapuṣpikā,* or *aṣṭapuṣpapūjā.* They are often, however, not completely aware of the early and continuing significance of this rite within the Śaivāgama tradition forming the basis for temple worship in South India. The agama texts and their related ritual manuals (*paddhatis*), belonging to the Śuddha-Śaiva, or South Indian school of Śaivism, commonly describe the offering of eight flowers along with its ritual contexts—the time and place of performance. A study of this information clearly shows that although simple in performance, the offering of eight flowers symbolizes the entire cult of worship of Śiva beginning with the establishment of his throne and ending with the final invocatory worship of Sadāśiva. Based on this material, the following description of the *aṣṭapuṣpapūjā* will include a discussion of the rite's symbolic significance and its place within the ritual panorama of South Indian Śaivism.

A devout Śaivite who has received initiation into the Śuddha-Śaiva community should formally worship Śiva three to

four times a day. The morning worship normally consists of an elaborate lengthy ritual. Since the worshiper is often unable to perform this time consuming cult more than once a day, the full ritual ceremony may be shortened to the offering of eight flowers. The texts prescribe this same form of worship at all times for those who, due to age or other inabilities, cannot perform the lengthy ritual. Clearly, to understand the significance of this shortened form of worship, consisting of the offering of eight flowers, it is necessary to establish a background knowledge of the rites that make up the full cult of worship normally directed toward the *liṅga*. Although the cult centers around the invocation and worship of Sadāśiva in the liṅga, the rites that make up this worship may be divided into the following phases:

1) The mantric creation of the deity's throne.
2) The mantric creation of the form (*mūrti*) and body (*vidyādeha*) of Sadāśiva on to the throne.
3) The attachment of the organs and instruments (*aṅga*) that symbolize his powers.
4) The invocation of Paraśiva, or *niṣkala* Śiva, with the *Mūla mantra* (OM HĀM HAUM Śivāya namaḥ!).
5) The worship of Sadāśiva, including the offering of water for his feet and the offering of flowers.
6) The *abhiṣeka* offerings, or consecrations, beginning with oil, and ending with the application of scented pastes.
7) The adornment of the deity with flowers, cloth, and jewels followed by the waving of incense and the showing of lights.
8) The invocation of Śiva's court (*āvaraṇa*).
9) The offering of the *naivedya* (food offering).
10) The chanting of the *Mūla mantra* combined with prostration before the deity and his circumambulation.

All these phases of the cult are performed with the recitation of *mantras*, the showing of *mudrās* to the Lord, and the

visualization of the deity. Although the ritual is directed to the liṅga, it is important to note that the stone itself is not worshipped; Śiva is invoked, installed, and worshipped in the stone. Also, since Śiva is complete and omnipotent, he does not require worship; but rather the devotee worships him for his own benefit, or (in the case of the parārthapūjā in temples) for the benefit of others.

Mantras are the essential component of the cult. They invoke the deity and so connect him to the worshiper. The ritual can, in fact, be performed without directing the rites toward any physical object (*adhikāra*) and without any material offerings; but it cannot be performed without *mantras*. An āgamic passage states:

> "The *mantras* have the form of gods. From the first *karṣaṇa* (ploughing) all the rites are performed with *mantras*. The *mantras* are destined for the ritual; there is no ritual without *mantras*. With *mantras* one installs the deity, with *mantras* one adores him, with *mantras* one bathes him, and with *mantras* one offers him oblations".[1]

Based on this very sketchy information on the cult of Śiva, let us turn to the *aṣṭapuṣpikā*. It is described most clearly in Appayadīkṣita's *Śivārcanacandrikā*.[2]

He begins his discussion by quoting a passage from an unidentified text.

> "With a pure mind (the worshiper) should offer the first flower to invoke the throne. The second flower he should offer with the *bija* of the heart while visualizing the form (*mūrti*) of Śiva and then another flower to the God without form. With the next five flowers he should invoke the five limbs (aṅga), and so with the eight flowers visualize Śiva."

1. *Vātulaśuddhāgama*, mantrapaṭala, intro; Bangalore, 1958.
2. Appayadīkṣita, *Śivārcanacandrikā*, p. 107–108; Kumbhakonam, 1922.

Each flower offering is made with the appropriate *mantras* as follows:

1). OM HĀM Śivāsanāya namaḥ — to the throne.

2) OM HĀṂ HĀṂ HĀṂ Śivamūrtaye namaḥ — to the form of Sadāśiva.

3) OM HĀṂ HAUM Śivāya namaḥ — to the *niṣkala* (formless) Paraśiva.

4). OM HĀṂ Hṛdayāya namaḥ — to the heart.

5) OM HĪṂ Śirase namaḥ — to the head.

6) OM HŪṂ Sikhāyai namaḥ — to the tuft.

7) OM HAIṂ Kavacāya namaḥ — to the armour (breast plate).

8) OM HAḤ Astrāya namaḥ — to the *astra* (weapon of Śiva).

One can see how the first three *mantras* establish Sadāśiva on his throne and the next five establish his surrounding court (*āvaraṇa*) made up of his own limbs (aṅgas). Thus the essential components of the cult are accomplished: Śiva is invoked and established while the offering of flowers are made.

According to Appayadīkṣita, this form of worship is suitable for everyone and results in the worshiper gaining all the positive effects of the ritual. Whereas the daily cult in the temple is restricted to consecrated priests (*gurukkaḷs*), this form of worship "can be offered in the morning noon or at dusk even by women and children." Furthermore, "the rite has the quality of meditation for those caught up in the delights of the world or those afflicted by disease." He concludes the section by citing a passage from the *Kālottara tantra* stating that the aṣṭapuṣpikā is for both those who are attached to the world and for those free from attachment.

At this point a brief diversion on the subject of the goals of the ritual would prove helpful. The subject is not a simple one. In general, the ritual of worship offered to Śiva is directed toward accomplishing the transformation of the individual into

Śiva. The ritual is the instrument by which the individual soul (*ātman*) moves toward Śiva by cutting away the bonds that confine it. The rite *par excellance* that symbolizes this disattachment is the initiation ceremony, the *nirvāṇa dīkṣā*. On the highest level, the daily worship removes the effects of *karma* brought about through daily life, re-establishing the connexion of the worshipper to Śiva. This connexion, or identification, is emphasized over and over again during the performance of the rituals. In preparing to perform the daily cult of Śiva, the worshipper must transform himself into the deity by mantrically imposing the form of Śiva onto his body (*sakalīkaraṇa*). He must then purify every aspect of his being by performing a rite called the *bhūtaśuddhi*. The *āgama* texts stress the point that in order to worship Śiva, one must first become Śiva:

"Śivo bhūtvā Śivam yajet"

This same identification is vocalized by the worshipper in various ritual contexts by the formula "Śivo'smi" or "So'ham" ("I am Śiva" or "I am He"). The cult of worship of Śiva re-emphasizes the connection of the worshipper to the deity and ultimately unites the worshipper to Śiva (*śivasāyujya*). The power behind this transformation of the worshipper is Śiva's grace (*anugrahaśakti*). The ritual, channelizing the grace of Śiva to the worshipper, transforms him from the condition of bondage to the status of Śiva.

Yet for the devotee who still desires the delights of the world, the effects of the ritual are more mundane. These include: good health, prosperity, supernormal powers (*siddhis*) and so on. The text usually mentions these effects in the context of specific *upacāras*, or ritual actions. At times the effects of various offerings are catalogued in great detail. While describing the *puṣpa-upacāra* (the offering of flowers), Appaya-dīkṣita describes the fruits gained from offering various sorts of flowers, lists the flowers that are best to offer, middling, and those that one should not offer.

But the effects of worship do not arise automatically simply through the mechanical ritual actions and the muttering of *mantras.* The worshipper's entire being must participate; his mind must visualize Śiva in his heart and established before him, while his hands show the *mudrās* and perform the actions that serve the Lord and his lips chant the *mantras* that praise and invoke him. By adoring the deity, the worshipper, little by little, comes to know and identify himself with the object of his adoration. Through the combination of his growing awareness and his growing devotion, little by little, the worshipper's bonds mature and are removed by the active power of Śiva's grace. Ultimately he obtains the unfettered nature of Śiva.

This then is the significance of the offering of eight flowers. It is an offering of invocation through which the worshipper visualizes and worships Śiva. The effects of the worship are in accord with the worshipper's spiritual development; ranging from the worldly pleasures of prosperity and so on, to the highest spiritual transformation. The offerings, though normally directed to the liṅga in daily worship, may be directed to any image or object that acts as the repository (*adhikāra*) of the Lord, including the *guru* who is always identified with Śiva. The rite may also be performed mentally-directed toward Śiva established in the devotee's heart. This, in fact, is the prescribed method of performance for *yogins.*

The aṣṭapuṣpikā, operating as a shortened method of invoking the deity is often used in ritual contexts where a rapid invocation of Śiva is necessary. This is the case in the purification of the *cala liṅga* described by Aghoraśivācārya in his *paddhati*[3] where the lengthy invocatory worship of the deity before he is bathed is replaced by the offering of eight flowers. Aghoraśivācārya, however, requires that only three *mantras* be used, the *Asana mantra,* the *Mūrti mantra,* and the *Mūla mantra.* (These are the first three mantras cited above). The rite is also normally prescribed as a means of final worship

3. Aghoraśivācārya; *Kriyākramadyotikā*, p. 83; Cidambaram, 1927.

before the performance of the *visarjana* rite that allows the deity to exit from the place of invocation. It is also used for the invocation of Śiva into the *pāśa-sūtra* during the *nirvāṇa-dīkṣā*. Such contexts are common. Clearly the offering of eight flowers fills a need to provide a rapid method of invoking, installing and worshipping the deity in various ritual settings.

Although simple to perform, the aṣṭapuṣpikā symbolizes the most essential aspects of the worship of Śiva. It would be of interest to investigate further the latter connection of this rite to the eight forms (*aṣṭamūrtis*) of Śiva as well as its use and significance in other Śaiva sects. It is unfortunate that in modern day Tamilnadu the majority of the Śaiva *gurukkaḷs* fail to recognize the significance of the rite within their own *āgamic* tradition.

Āgamaratna K. A. Sabhāratnam Śivācārya: Of the four goals of life viz. aṟam, (dharma), poruḷ (artha), inpam (kāma) and vīṭu (mokṣa) which are longed for by souls in this world of life and matter, the primary value rests in mokṣa which is characterised by eternal, unsurpassable and supreme bliss. The Tamil words 'vīṭu' and 'vīṭutalai' mean the same as mokṣa in Sanskrit viz. liberation.

Mokṣa in the Śaiva Siddhānta school means attainment of graded liberation by the souls in bondage on the destruction of the pāśas with the grace of Paramaśiva. The grades of liberation in the ascending order are sāloka (remaining in the world of Śiva), sāmīpya (being near Him), sārūpya (attaining a form similar to His) and sāyujya (being united with Him).

The four means to attain the four states of liberation are caryā, kriyā, yoga and jñāna. The authoritative texts that lay down these means are Vedas and 'Śivāgamas as stated by Aruḷnandi Śivācāriyār in his Śivajñānasiddhiyār. As Śaiva Siddhānta speaks about 36 tattvas it comprehends all the other systems that deal with lesser number of tattvas. The supreme God recognised by Vedas and Śivāgamas is Paramaśiva. By worshipping Him in any of the several forms one gets 'bhoga' in this world and 'mokṣa' yonder. Of the several forms fit for

worship or arcana, liṅga, the sakala–niṣkala form otherwise called 'aru–uruvat–tirumēṉi' which shares the features of rūpa (form) and arūpa (formless) is a significant one.

We shall notice some of the references to Śiva in the Vedas. It is stated that among the Vidyās, śruti (veda) is important; among the śrutis the portion called 'Rudraikādaśinī' is important and in it the pañcākṣara śruti is the most important and even among the five letters the two 'Śi–va' is the essence.

Rudraikadaśinī (Śatarudrīyam) refers to tattvas which are found elaborated in Śivāgamas such as Mṛgendrāgama (jñāna-pāda). Śatarudrīyam occurs in the fourth kāṇḍa of yajurveda. It begins with the invocation 'Namaḥ Somāya ca Rudrāya ca' and a little later 'Namaḥ Śivāya ca' 'Sivatarāya ca'.

The term 'Liṅga' stands for the concept of One from which the Universe arises (gam) and one in which it merges (laya). The 'Oṁkāra' is a combination' of 'a' 'u' 'm', 'a' being in the dakṣiṇa bhāga of the liṅga, 'u' in the uttarabhāga and 'm' in the middle. The nāda of half a mora is on the top of the liṅga.

When Brahmā failed to reach Śiva's crown and Viṣṇu failed to reach His foot to their dismay Śiva appeared as a vast column of flame which is the same as the praṇava of which 'a' stands for Ṛgveda, 'u' for Yajurveda and 'm' for Sāma Veda. The word Umā also contains 'u', 'm' and 'ā' and this word stands for 'śakti praṇava. Umāpati and Paśupati are terms used in Tait.up. to denote 'Śiva. The term 'paśu' stands for the souls.

The term Rudra means one who drives away (drāvayati) the sorrow and misery (ruk) of mundane life. The Śvetāśvatara Upaniṣad says that it is as impossible to attain mokṣa without Śivajñāna as it is to roll the ākāśa.

Rudraikādaśinī says that the Pañcākṣara obviates the necessity to adopt manana, nididhyāsana etc. as it alone is capable of conferring mukti. The 'śruti (Atharvaśikhopaniṣad)

declares unequivocally that Śiva alone is to be meditated upon. Those who adopt Praṇavoccāraṇa transcend the need to propitiate Brahmā, Viṣṇu, Maheśvara and Sadāśiva. Those who have conquered their sense, and are full of sattvaguṇa, purified by Śivadīkṣā, transcend even the Īśvara bhuvana tattva.

Brahmā and Viṣṇu become vijñānakalars at the time of Mahāpralaya having only āṇava mala. Then Śiva alone continues to dominate the scene during the mahāpralaya. Thus his eternality is established. In the Niṣkala (formless) stage he exists as Śivam and Śakti or Nāda and Bindu. In The Sakala (form) stage he is known as Brahmā, Viṣṇu, Rudra and Maheśvara. In the Rūpārūpa (form and formless) stage He is worshipped and meditated upon as liṅga.

The soul is provided the body and sense, world of objects and the capacity for experiencing pleasure and pain in accordence with one's karma. The means adopted to attain liberation are caryā (physical act) kriyā (rites) yoga (meditation) and Jñāna (study and understanding of scriptures).

The formless Lord Śiva when worshipped in varied forms is called Sādākhya (ever being praised). It is called variously as 'Śivasādākhya, amūrta, mūrta, kartṛ, and karmasādakhya. *Śivasādākhya* is very subtle, in the form of Light resembling lightning, is pervasive and is the layasthāna. *Amūrta* is like a pillar of fire effulgent like a crore of Suns. It is called also as divyaliṅga. *Mūrta* sādākhya is like the fire at the time of mahāpralaya, the liṅga with a face also called divyaliṅga. *Kartṛsādākhya* has the complexion of crystal with four faces and three eyes and other limbs and weapons. This is called also as Jñānaliṅga. *Karmasādākhya* is sakala niṣkala meditated upon as Sadāśiva and for purpose of worship with the pīṭha and liṅga. The last embodies the first four and therefore a better liṅgamūrta for worship.

Liṅga is either a moveable one as the one that is worshipped at home or immoveable as the one worshipped in temples. The latter is either a svayambhū or daivika or ārṣa or mānuṣa.

Liṅga is praṇavasvarūpa. 'A' stands for Brahmā, 'u' for Viṣṇu and 'm' for Rudra. Oṁkāra is Sadāśiva. Liṅga is sanctified by 7 crores of mahāmantras. To put it in another way 'Nāda' is the liṅga part and 'bindu' is the pīṭha part of the liṅga. The union of the yoni and liṅga conduces to the creation of the Universe. Nāda is in the centre of Bindu, mūrtis are in the Bindu, tattvas are in the murti, Śiva is in the tattvas and liṅga is in the centre of Śiva. So all the tattvas are in the Liṅga.

Vyāsa says in Śivamahāpurāṇa that Viṣṇu caused to make 10085 Śivalingas with the help of Viśvakarmā and gifted them to the Gods. We know the 12 Jyotilingas glorified by Śaṅkara that include the Viśvanātha of Kāśi and Rāmanātha of Rāmeśvaram.

Rāmāyaṇatātparyasaṅgraha says that Rāma built the bridge with a view to install Rāmaliṅga at Rameśvaram.

In Śivaliṅgārcana one has to worship Maheśvara in the form of Sadāśiva etc. by means of the five Brahmamantras, Īśāna, Tatpuruṣa Aghora, Vāmadeva and Sadyojāta and also other forms by means of angamantras such as hṛdaya, śiras etc.

The universe in its subtle and gross aspects is an expression of Śiva in his aṣṭamūrti form and all this is centred in Śivaliṅga. The tattvas accepted by the various schools of philosophy are part of the tattvas inherent in the Śivaliṅga and hence tattva and tattveśvara worship also are referred to in the manual of worship.

Prapañca or universe is of two kinds (1) Śabdaprapañca in the form of sound and (2) arthaprapañca in the form of objects. The eleven saṁhitā mantras viz. the Brahma mantras and aṅgamantras, the 81 padamantras and 51 varṇamantras constitute the world of sound. All these arise from the middle of the liṅga. The 36 tattvas (nāda, bindu prakṛti ahaṅkāra etc. five kalās and 224 bhuvanas constitute the world of objects conveyed by sound. The Liṅga is to be worshipped with the appropriate bhuvana mantras.

There are certain sequential steps in the worship of Śiva. Offering of water to wash the feet is called 'pādyam' though Śiva is not in need of purification. This rite has the power of taking the worshipper to Sadāśiva bhuvana. Offering of water to drink is called 'ācamana'. It is in fact self purification. This rite activises all the worlds. The third rite of offering flowers on the head of the image results in the attainment of Sadāśivapada.

The fourth rite of abhiṣeka or holy bath results in the destruction of impurites like āṇava that is coeval with the existence of the self. The smearing of sandal paste and application of odorous substances yield enjoyment of worldly prosperity now and liberation ultimately. Waving of light and burning of incense enable the soul to command full power of knowledge (jñānaśakti) and action (kriyāśakti). The fruit of the worship as a whole is to attain the state of mind attuned to the auspicious Śivahood. This helps the soul from its restless motion to and from the pure and impure bhuvanas in numerous births. In short worship of Śiva removes the impurities of the soul, destroys the affliction pertaining to self, associated with elements and those caused by Gods. Devotion to Śiva and chanting of His names confer the status of Indra Brahmā and Viṣṇu on the soul according to its maturity.

It is only those who get initiated as a first step in 'Samaya-dīkṣā' and then as the next higher step 'Viśeṣadīkṣā' that can perform worship to the image of Siva such as Śivaliṅga either in one's own house (ātmārtha) or in the temple for the benefit of all (parārtha). The worshipper must strictly adhere to the rules of conduct in this regard (samayācāra) such as śaucar snāna, sandhyāvandana, japa, Sūryapūjā, dvārapūjā, the five śuddhis, antaryāga, bahiryāga, naivedya ātmasamarpaṇa etc. One should regard the temple priest as Śiva himself and pay him due respects. Worship of Śivaliṅga should be followed by worship of his devotees too.

It is only the person who has been specially initiated into the duties of worship in temples, that can do it. Performance

of ritualistic worship in temples (parārtha pūjā) according to Śivāgamas is intended to usher in general welfare of all.

Worship of Śivaliṅgas such as Svayambhū or Daivikam does not detract from the omnipresence of Śiva. As cow's milk is obtained through its udder, a part of the cow, so the grace of Lord Śiva the all pervasive God is got through Śivaliṅga. The several modes of worship such as pādya, arghya etc. to Śiva who is by nature pure is intended only to enable the soul on becoming mature by stages to be liberated from the miseries of the world. It is stated that such a worship leads to prosperity of the kingdom whereas performance of sacrifice leads to the acquisition of riches and chanting of names to the destruction of the accumulated sins.

Śivapūjā leads a man to a state of prosperity when he shall have even material comforts such as superior elephants and swift horses at his command. Worship of Śivaliṅga will confer thousand fold what the performance of sacrifice, penance, charity etc. will yield. People should not even in adverse circumstances fail to perform the chanting of pañcākṣara-smearing their body with the holy ash and worship of Śivaliṅga. One should be engaged in them each according to his capacity.

W. (Mrs) Nienke Kruger: In the Encyclopaedia Britannica (1978[15]) "worship" is defined as follows: "broadly defined it is man's response to the appearance of the Holy, i.e. the sacred, transcendent power or being. This can include acts of all kinds: ritual, drama, prayer, dance, sacred song etc. Also acts of private response are included: silence, prayer, posture. Worship rests upon the assumption that there is a realm of being that transcends the ordinary world. Worship acts serve to unite both realms."

According to this definition the Tiru-Vācakam as a whole can be considered as worship, in as far as it is nothing but a man's response to the Holy, and expresses a man's craving for the world of Śiva. But the Tiru-Vācakam is not a technical manual of worship in the sense of the Āgamas. It mentions

the worship of Śiva continuously and is in itself a piece of worship, but technical details of worship it leaves beside.

It speaks of worship of Śiva by other gods, by other devotees than the author himself, and by all beings in heaven and on earth. There are parts with epithets of praise for Śiva. Finally the Tiru-Vācakam as a whole renders the spiritual relationship of the author with Śiva.

Māṇikkavācakar speaks at many places about the worship of Śiva by other gods, especially by Viṣṇu and Brahmā. In the poṟṟi-tiru-akaval, vss 9,10 Viṣṇu in spite of his worship cannot see the benign feet of Śiva, but for the devotee living in this world this is easy. Also in the puṇarccip-pattu vss 13–16 Brahmā, Viṣṇu and others worship Śiva. When Māṇikka-Vācakar speaks about Śiva-worship by Brahmā and Viṣṇu he often refers to the purāṇic myth in which these gods changed themselves into a swan and a boar and unsuccessfully sought to reach the top and the bottom of Śiva who was in the form of a huge lingam.

The worship of Śiva in community with fellow devotees is very predominant in the Tiru-Vācakam. The Tirukkazhukkunṟap patikam vss 13–16 mention the superhuman love of Śiva's other devotees and Māṇikka-Vācakar's own struggle before Śiva showed Himself to him on this sacred Hill. He longs to be united with Śiva while worshipping along with other devotees (puṇarccip-pattu vss 9-12). He urges other devotees to worship Śiva (cennip-pattu vss 22–24), (yāttirai pattu vss 21–24), and he even says that those who do not worship Śiva are to be feared more than anything (accap pattu, the last 8 stanzas).

There are many hymns in the Tiru-Vācakam which are in the form of girl's games, like the tiruccāzhal where Śiva's great deeds are frequently praised. This class of poems might have been composed for didactic purposes. Apart stands the famous Tiruvempāvai where girls worship Śiva in the early morning. This should be connected with a vow, (mārkazhi nonpu) made by the girls for the purpose of obtaining a good husband.

Some parts of the Tiru-Vācakam can directly be used for the worship of Śiva, like parts of the Śiva purāṇam (first 16 lines, vss 62-83), the tiruvaṇṭappakuti (vss 96-105) ending on vāzhka, vss 106-121 ending on pōṟṟi), and the pōṟṟi tiru akaval (vss 87 to end).

All those in heaven and on earth universally praise Śiva (ācaip pattu vss 25-28).

The particular value of the Tiru-Vācakam however lies in the fact that it gives us a glimpse of the spiritual relationship of a god-seeker on his way to Śiva's feet. Here rises the problem of the authenticity of the hymns. It is not always sure that the hymns attributed to Māṇikka-Vācakar have actually been composed by him. Moreover, as no text criticism has ever been applied to the text, there is the problem of interpolation, alteration etc. Therefore it is not easy to know what Māṇikka-Vācakar has literally said.

On the other hand, the spontaneous and all surrendering love that speak in the hymns make one nearly reluctant to trace Māṇikka-Vācakar's utterings to the letter. If one reads the Tiru-Vācakam as a whole, one cannot but feel impressed by the superb rendering of the ups and downs a devotee can experience in his relationship to God. It is especially convincing that Māṇikka-Vācakar never seeks to manipulate the Divine, which is the case when worship turns into magic. He merely gives expression to his love, despair, anxiety and impatience to reach the Lord's feet, but he never tries to *force* Śiva to fulfil his wish. The hymns carry such a strong personal character that one feels like paying attention to their message as a whole rather than to get lost in the question of the authenticity of the lines in detail.

If one wants to speak about a *development* in Māṇikka-vācakar's relation-ship to God, and parallel to this of a development in his worship of the Lord, one goes a step further. Not only the authenticity, but also the order of the hymns plays a role then. The order in which the hymns are usually

published is probably not the same as the order in which they actually came into existence. To trace this, an attempt to reconstruct Māṇikka-Vācakar's wanderings geographically might be of some help, but even when one would succeed in this to a certain extent, one never could say 100% for sure in which particular order the hymns have been sung. Moreover, some can have got lost. So I hesitate to point out a detailed spiritual development of Māṇikka-Vācakar in the Tiru-Vācakam, as some authors do, although in outline there certainly is one.

In the aticayappattu Māṇikka-Vācakar regrets his former life in absorption with women, not thinking of doing the righteous, and his lack of worship (vss 17–20) and he expresses his joy and wonder that Śiva joined him to His slaves. Also in the Tiruc catakam (vss 17–20) he mentions that in spite of his not worshipping, Śiva bestowed mercy upon him. Places like this show that there were at least two stages in Māṇikka-Vācakar's spiritual development, a former one of worldliness and absence of worship, and a later one in which he is Śiva's slave. In this period he worships Śiva, (tiruccatakam vss 1–4), he urges others to do so (cennip-pattu vss 22–24), but his most important worship are the hymns themselves in which he describes all the various experiences of a devotee of Śiva, from rapture to despair and even "stone-heartedness", (tiruccatakam vs 84). The Tiruccatakam seems to show some development in Māṇikka-Vācakar's spirituality, but without knowing the chronological order of the other hymns it is difficult to define one in the Tiru-Vācakam as a whole.

Probably one could distinguish yet a third stage in Māṇikka-Vācakar's spiritual development, viz. in the Tiruppaṭaiyāṭci. G. Vanmīkanāthan (in his "Pathway to God through the Tiruvāchakam, Thiruppanandal, 1980) translates the title as 'Victory in the Sacred War", and renders the subtitle as "cessation of the deception of the soul or riddance of the attributes imposed on it by association with the malams" or "Cessation of the Passion of the Soul" (pg 444). Māṇikka-Vācakar has reached here the mature stage in which worship in any form has become irrelevant.

The interpretation of this lyric however is not easy, especially on account of the word "ākātē" on which nearly every line ends. Should this be interpreted as a question or as emphatic? If it is a question, it is a rhetorical one and the expected answer is negative, so that the line gets a negative meaning. If the word is emphatic, it is an affirmation so that the meaning is exactly the opposite of what it would be if the word were a question. To my feeling a question would rather have to be "akātō" in stead of "ākātē" but also "ākātē" can indicate a question. G. U. Pope (in his edition, re-published by the University of Madras, 1979) has even added a question-mark and translates "shall it not be?" (pg 341–346). But Vanmikanāthan interprets it as a negation (pg 446–451). The translation of both authorities should thus be opposite to each other, but they are not. Also Pope tends to understand the hymn in the sense that Māṇikka-Vācakar renders here a certain transcendence of all the passions he has so lively described in other poems. So the presumption is obvious that the Tiruppaṭaiyāṭci is one of Māṇikka-Vācakar's latest hymns, and has been written after those in which he mentions his not worshipping and his worshipping, when on the way to reach Siva's feet.

So in general lines there must have been three phases in Māṇikka-Vācakar's worship of Śiva, parallel to his general spiritual development, viz. a first one in which he was averse from it, a second one in which be practised it, and encouraged also others to do so, and a third one in which he reached maturity and where it all did not matter anymore.

It is a pity that such an impressive document of a soul's journey to God does not enjoy the world-wide reputation it deserves, due to linguistic barriers.

In conclusion, the chairman thanked the leader and the participants for their interesting papers. He also thanked the audience present.

IV

REPORT OF SEMINARS

The Institute of Traditional Cultures held a symposium on 'Western Impact on Indian Languages in the 20th Century both in regard to its contents and form" at 3 P.M. on Thursday the 21st October 1982 at the University annexe, Marina. Prof. P. Thirugnanasambandhan, M.A., L.T., Director of the Institute presided. The following scholars read the papers on the subjects noted against them:

1.	Dr. V. Veeraswami, M.A.,Ph.D., Associate Professor, International Institute of Tamil Studies, Madras.	Western Impact on Tamil Literature.
2.	Dr. D. Anjaneyulu, M.A., B.L., D.Litt., 'Saketa', No. 14, Mandaveli Street, Madras–28.	Western Impact on Indian Writing in English.
3.	Dr. C. S. Sundaram, M.A.,Ph.D., Reader, Department of Sanskrit, University of Madras, University Annexe, Marina.	Western Impact on Sanskrit Literature.

As only Dr. V. Veeraswamy and Dr. C. S. Sundaram sent the script of their talks, we publish them below:

Dr. V. Veeraswamy: The concept of form and content had an important place in Tamil literature from the early centuries before Christ. In Tolkāppiyam an ancient Tamil grammar, 'Ceyyuḷiyal' describes from the basic unit of a poem called *'acai'* to *'vanappu'* the effect of the poem. Then the sources of meaning and its usage are dealt with in the next chapter *'Marapiyal'*. It is a surprise to many to know that the ancient grammarian had already classified the meaning and its container in his previous chapter *'Uriyiyal'* in *Collatikāram*. We find that particular kinds of poems are prescribed for a

particular subject matter. This feature definitely marks a remarkable development of Tamil poetics. For example *'Kalippā'* and *'Paripāṭal'* have been assigned to love poems in *'Akattiṇai'* (Tol. Porul. Akam 56 Ilam). This particularisation of form and content did not stop with the *Cankam* literature. In fact the long history of Tamil literature reveals the development of this process continued as a natural outgrowth of the Tamil society.

With the advent of *Bhakti* cult we find rise of new poetical forms out of necessity of this period. The message of any creative artist not excluding the religious leaders, has to reach the individual and pervade the society as well. This means that the poet must sympathetically respond to the current thought of the society, and besides this he has also to arrest the attention of the masses through a medium that would attract them. Thus we find the poets of the *Bhakti* period chose to introduce music in their poetical works.

When the epic era set in, poets like *Thirutthakka Thēvar* and *Kambar* used a new type of poem called *'Viruttam'*, a more suitable form to tell the epic story with all its emotions and feelings. In more than 484 places *Kambar* has changed his metres which show the importance of the epic action. In order to describe the battle field and heroic deeds of the epic characters he has changed the forms of *viruttam* in 155 places in *Yutta kāṇdam.*

There were many poets like Kālamēkam roaming in small villages and writing many sarcastic poems instantaneously. Master poets who chose to write epics of lasting nature do differ from poets like *Kālamēkam* of the *'Thanippāṭal Thiraṭṭu'* The former leisurely plan and produce neatly chiselled pieces that go to form a whole epic while the latter, in the spur of the moment have to produce instant poems. But whether it is *Kamban* of the epics or *Kālamēkam* of the instant poems we have to recognize the fact that both the poets were masters of not only the grammatical rules but also the *'Nikaṇḍus'* that in days of yore served as the modern dictionaries. Their

erudition helped them to create the exact form to suit the emotional content.

But when *'Chantakkulippu'* dominated in the poems of *'Thirupukaḷ'* songs by *Aruṇagirināthar* who immersed himself in the flood of music and used both Tamil and Sanskrit words according to the sound patterns he wanted to create in a particular metre, slowly content was relegated to a secondary place and form came to the forefront.

Even the difference in caste system entered into this world of poems. Some letters were divided into upper caste letters and others as lower ones. Veṇbā, the superior form, was assigned to praise the upper caste only. Some of the works known as *'Pāṭṭiyals'* were responsible in introducing such caste distinction even in the poetical forms. True spiritualists like *Thāyumānavar* and *Rāmalinga Vaḷḷalār* did not follow this kind of unpleasant methods of dividing poems and alloting them according to the hierarchy of the society. They discovered God in every soul and object in this universe and came out of this kind of restrictions, in form. But they never broke away from the traditions. On the other hand they strictly followed the poetical rules and in many cases they adopted the folk forms to attract the common mass on their side. All these developments tell us about the ancient ideas of the Tamils about the form and content from the days of *Tolkāppiyar*.

In the 17th century western literature was introduced to the Tamils, especially by the Christian missionaries. The Tamils had political and economic relationships with the Greeks and Romans. So, some scholars are of the opinion that their literature could also have been known in this part of the country from early days. When the western travellers came to Tamil Nadu they had many connections with them. Undoubtedly their influence had its effects on Tamil literature also. Even as the reformation covered the whole Europe, the arrival of the Europeans in Tamil Nadu introduced many of their famous literary works and Biblical scriptures. This was supported by the ruling class and this made a mark in the literary field of this

country. The effect of this influence can very well be compared to the advent of Industrial revolution in Europe. When the British began to rule Tamil Nadu and other parts of India, English became the medium of instruction. Tamil students equipped themselves with knowledge about English works in addition to other literary works from France, Germany, Italy and even from Russia. No doubt, English literature and its influence covered the whole field. After studying those works the newly educated young scholars tried to enrich their own literature with such models adopted from English and other European languages. They studied various literary forms in those languages and tried to adopt them in Tamil also.

So far poetical form dominated the Tamil literary field. Even medical and astrological books were written in easy and simple poems. But the arrival of the Christian missionaries gave a new turn to Tamil literature. Prose writing was encouraged by these foreigners and their education in schools and colleges paved the way to prose. Printing machines helped them to popularise the works in prose and circulation of such works encouraged people even in the lower social order to express their own thoughts and feelings in their ordinary dialects. So it took away the power of poems used till then as a close preserve by some of the higher caste people.

Paper replaced palmyrah leaves and production of innumerable copies of a particular book was possible so as to reach even the man in the street. With palm leaves as stationery material for writing, the space capacity of the material was very meagre; but with the advent of paper with the added advantage of printing, the space available and copies in circulation multiplied by leaps and bounds. The writer has found a rich store-house to serve his intellectual appetite. Voluminous writing on any subject in easy and lucid prose style with minimum effort became possible. So prose came to dominate the field of writing and to an extent successfully replaced poetry in Tamil and introduced new literary forms like novel, short-story and drama in Tamil.

Rarely English sonnet form also attracted certain Tamil scholars like *V.G. Suryanarayana Sastriyar* and his *'Thanippāsura Thokai'* came out in this line. Even the popular poet *Subramaniya Bharati* tried to write some sonnets. But this peculiar poetical form had not attracted many. So it had its own natural death.

Bharati studied and followed in the foot-steps of Walt Whitman in writing new verses. Since he was a people's poet who fought against slavery and tried to break the chains of the foreign rule, he fluttered his wings to fly in the sky without much hindrance from the rules prescribed by grammarians. Though he had produced only a few poems in this line his followers adopted this method and tried to get rid of the old prosodic rules regarding *'acai', 'cir'* and *'taḷai'*. This new venture gave vigour to the young poets and they tried to find novelty in every word, meaning and fertility in poems. But this new mode deviated from *Bharati's* basic principles and took the 'form' as everything.

Pitchamurthi published his *'Kattu Vattu'* in 1930. Famous Tamil writers like *'Ku. pa. Ra.', 'Putumaippittan'* and *'Vallikkaṇṇan'* tried this line and published many new verses, Pitchamurthi used many abstract images and tried to attract educated youngsters to follow his method. But tunes changed. Freudism and Marxism had their sway and influenced the creative writer to fall in line with their mode of thinking. 'Modern New verses' can be classified under these two schools.

Poets who published their poems in the *'Eḷuttu'* a literary journal, followed the Freudian principles and their inward attempt reached the bottom of the mind and tried to help the individual to be freed from the shackles of modernity. Indeed the attempt reflected the struggle of the individuals in European countries after the second world war and importance of individual freedom. Imagism and Formation overpowered the modern poets in France. When such developments took shape in the world K. N. *Subramaniam* described himself as a follower of T.S. Eliot and Ezra Pound in *'Saraswathi'* (10.10.58). Some poets like

Ci. Mani and *Dharmu Sivaramu* preferred images and obscurity. So this trend in new verses helps to develop the qualities of depth, sharpness, exactitude and economy in words. The effect of old *'Chitthirak Kavi'* — drawing some figures in which the letters are written and through some mechanism of reading the full form of the poem out of that drawing can be seen in some verses written by poets like *Vaideeswaran.*

In the poems of poets belonging to *'Vānambādi'* the influence of Marxism can be recognized. They adopted realism and materialistic outlook in their poems. Some of them came under the influence of Naturalism, Surrealism and Existentialism. Some followed the trends of Mayakovsky and Neruda. In the poems of Rahman, Abi Puviarasu and Mehta, French imagism is freely used; Simple diction and style with rhythm add to the strength of their poems. Poets like *'Agniputhiran, Ingulab* and *Tamiḷanpan* freely use in their verses many Sanskrit and English words. Some of them adopted the folk tradition in form.

In the beginning *Bharatidasan,* the famous poet of the reformists movement wanted to write poems without considering the old prosodic rules and regulations. On the other hand he wanted to strengthen the movement of Purism in Tamil started by *Maraimalaiadikal.* Bharatidasan's ways showed the path to his followers like *Suratha, Vanidasan* and *Ponnadiyan* in using pure Tamil words as well as in praising the old classical trends in Cangam period. They tried to propagate modern reformistic principles to eradicate ignorance of the people. Though they propagated new ideas they followed in the long run the old classical forms and style. They gave more importance to purism in style.

When we compare the development of the Tamil prose with poetry really poetry is lagging behind. In the last decades of the 19th century the Tamil novel came out from the days of *Mayavaram Vedanayagam Pillai.* It was a fashion to translate English novels and give the names of the characters in Tamilized forms or pure Tamil names in order to make the readers believe

as if they were reading a Tamil story in Tamil land. Even second rate novels of Reynolds were translated from 1901.

The aim of the first Tamil novel was to spread moral life among the people. This is similar to the views of Dr. Johnson. In addition to this it wanted to put an end to atheistic ideals of Darwin, John Stewart Mill and Voltaire. It encouraged easy prose style to write Tamil novels. Scholars like *Pandit Natesa Sastri* wanted Tamil people to enjoy their Tamil novels just in the same way as they would enjoy English novels. So he adapted some English novels and himself wrote original novels in Tamil like *'Theenadayalu'*. In the beginning of each chapter he quoted some lines from the Tamil ethical works in order to spread those moral ideals even from the beginning of a novel. His style was very simple. On the contrary *Suryanarayana* Sastriyar used a terse style full of archaic words and phrases. *Maraimalai adigal* wrote his novels in pure Tamil. Only very few people followed this trend in writing Tamil novels.

Madavaiya followed the autobiographical novels introduced by early English novelists. His *Muthu Meenakshi* came in the first decade of this century written from the point of view of its main character. This technique was profusely used by Mu. Varadarajan in his novels, after independence.

Though western influence shaped the form of Tamil novels in simple and attractive prose style some novelists like *Balasubramanya Pillai* adopted a poetic style for his novel *'Vivekaraca Viran'* (1904). There are 1636 *'kaṇṇis'* and *'Virtuttams'* in this work. It is an attempt to adopt the western genre in Tamil poetic form.

Maraimalai adigal followed the technique of the early English novels written in letter form and his *'Kōkilāmbāl Kaditangaḷ'* is a good example of the same in the Tamil literary world. But this had no followers. *Ponnuswami Pillai* tried a new experiment in novel writing. With his experience in producing Tamil dramas in Burma, he had written some Tamil novels introducing the dramatic techniques. Some of the Tamil writers like

Nagai, Gopalakrishnan and *Arani Kuppuswami Mudaliar* adopted English detective novels. *J. R. Rangaraj* wrote some of his novels with social reform as themes.

Beginning a story 'in the middle' is a technique in the novels of west. *Bharati* even at the beginning of his career used this technique as well as the eastern tradition i.e. telling the story from the beginning itself. Using the adventurous spirit in travel of the European countries he wrote his 'Gnana Ratham' as a modified 'Utopia' in one sense. The same Utopian idea was utilized by his disciple *Va. Ra.* in his *'Kōthaitthīvu'*. With a touch of economic equality and social freedom *Mu. Va.* used this technique in his *'Ki. Pi. 2000'*. This kind of utopian novels are also rare in Tamil.

Some of the western novels were published in the form of personal diary. This technique was followed in *'Gumastāvin Peṉ'* by *C. N. Annadurai.* In *'J.J. Cila Kurippukaḷ'* 'diary' has been utilized by *Sundara Ramaswami.*

Thomas Hardy had written his famous regional novels in England. His novels inspired *R. Shanmugasundaram* to write his novels depicting the real environment of the *'Kongu'* region in Tamil Nadu (the present Coimbatore, Periyar and Salem Districts). In his novels he showed effectively how the industrialisation, the effect of Western civilization, entered into the old feudal life in a silent way in this region so as to change its complexion.

In *'Padmavathi Sarithiram'* (III Part) by *Madavaiya* the changes that took place due to western civilization have been described well.

Historical novels in English by Sir Walter Scott had shown the right path to 'Kalki' to write his three great Tamil novels *'Parthipan Kanavu' 'Sivakamiyin Sabatham'* and *'Ponniyin Selvan'* He collected rare historical materials from Tamil *Pallava* and *Chola* historical records and interpreted those materials according to his own ingenuity. He has been followed in Tamil by many

authors who explored new regions like Greek, Roman and other historical accounts.

In social novels *Jeeva* (*Narana Duraikkannan*) adapted some of the novels by Tolstoy. Aesthetic approaches followed by French writers have been followed by *Akilan* in his famous novels. His *'Chittirappavai'* describes the life of a young artist who lived for expounding the theory of 'Art for Peoples' sake'. His *'Pavai Vilakku'* has an autobiographical tinge like Somerset Maugham's novels.

The novels which came after the second world war raised their voice against the evils of war and tried to strengthen activities of the peace movement. Bertrand Russell's voice to achieve peace in the world finds its echo in the pages of *'Antha Nal'* by *Mu. Va.* Even though he was a Professor of Tamil he did not follow the old ways of *Suryanarayana* Sastriyar or *Maraimalai adigal.* He followed the simple style adopted by Ernest Hemingway and Somerset Maugham in their English novels. He used the technique of 'The Invisible Man' by H. G. Wells in his novel *'Maṉ Kuticai'* He often propagated Fabian Socialism in his novels. Here we can feel the influence of Bernard Shaw. Like James Joyce *K. N. Subramaniyam* (K.N.S.) wrote his short novel *'Oru Nāḷ.'* Since *K.N.S.* knew many classical languages of the West he used this knowledge to write many novels so as to reach their level.

When the life of the individual man faces many problems his mental life also changes. That kind of change can be seen in the surrealistic novels. Existentialism has also influenced certain Tamil novelists who wanted to follow the principles of Kafka, Satre, Comus and Proust. The effect of Freudian Psychology and Nietzsche's Philosophy can be seen in some of the Tamil Novels. The works of *Krithika, Sundara Ramaswami, Nagulan* and *Kandaswami* are good examples for this.

The technique of stream of consciousness has been followed by the western novelists like Virginia Woolf and James Joyce. This technique has been successfully followed in the novels of

Neela Padmanabhan, Nagulan and *La. Sa. Ra.* They efficiently depicted the internal conflicts of men in many ways.

Janakiraman and *Rajam Krishnan* wrote their realistic novels to describe the real grievances in the present day family as well as the whole social life. Like Jonathan Swift, *Indra Parthasarathy* adopted a sarcastic style to criticize the modern political and social life especially in the capital city of India. Here too the various conflicts in the individual personality have been depicted.

The philosophy of Marxism and Leninism has a strong hold among the writers like *Ragunathan*, *Selvaraj*, *Ponnilan* and *Chinnappa Bharathi*. Realism is their strength to portray the sufferings of the weavers, agricultural labourers and the industrial workers.

The impact of Freudism can be noted in *Jayakanthan's* characters like Rajaraman and Vengu Mama. Sexual perversion dominate his works like *'Samūgam Enpathu Nālu Pēr'* and *'Āṭum Nāṟkālikaḷ Āṭukinṟana'* used 'stream of consciousness' and internal monologue. Alienation is the central theme of his novel *'Pārisukkuppō'*. In his early novels the principles of Marxism echoed from the beginning to the end. In his later works he tries to describe the heroic activities of the extremists who in their socio-economic struggles fight to eradicate exploitation by the rich.

Short Stories

We now turn to short stories', another product of western contact. What is now known as 'short-story' is new to the Tamil arena. The impact of the English as well as the American short-stories especially in their structural developments can be noted. As a pioneer in this field *V. V. S. Aiyar* had done many experiments. Then came the *'Maṇikkoḍi'* a literary journal in which stalwarts like *'Puthumaippittan'*, *Ku. Pa. Ra.*, *K. N. Subramaniam*, *Chitti* and *Ramayya* wrote many brilliant short-stories. They studied English, French, German and Russian models and tried to use them in their works. Many

of them followed the forms in the stories written by Guy de Mauppassant and Chekhov. Following a different path *Mouni* adopted a new mystic approach in his Tamil short-stories. Puthumaippithan used stream of consciousness in some of his stories. *La. Sa. Ra.* tried to use a style of aversion and dislike in his short-stories. In the forties and fifties of this century Tamil short-story writers like, *Akilan, Janakiraman, Jegasirpiyan, Parthasarathy* and *Vindhan* exhibited their creative talents in writing good stories, by adopting the new methods of the western writers like Mark Twain, Howard Fast, Natheniel Hawthorne and O. Henry. On the other hand Russian short-stories by Tolstoy, Turganev, Chekhov, Gorky and Sholokhov had influenced the Tamil stories written by *Ragunathan, Alagiriswami, Jeyakanthan* and others. Human rights optimistic outlook and real spirit to fight against social injustice and exploitation are propagated in these Tamil short-stories. The short-stories of *Jeyakanthan* represent the true picture of the downtrodden people suffering from hunger and disease. The form and content enjoy equal importance in depicting love for human beings.

But at present most of the Tamil short-stories cannot be considered to be writen at any level of decency. They are in bad taste with the unwanted development of the western literature describing murder, theft, rape and all sorts of unsocial and immoral activities. Abnormal sex is a common feature in these 'mercantile creation, beautiful in form written in a simple and attractive style. Para-pornography of these creations exploit the adolescent and undeveloped minds of the youth. This feature is the negative influence of the West.

Drama

Ancient Tamil dramas are not available. English rule introduced dramas of Shakespeare in the colleges of Tamil Nadu. Persians encouraged the drama artistes to follow attractive techniques on the stage. Old Tamil *Pallu* and *Koothu* gave primary place to dance and music and assigned only secondary place to characterisation and acting. Some of the middle class

people including a few upper class scholars realizing the real merit of the western dramas and the value of the Persian stage techniques, readily adopted them in the Tamil stage so as to compete with the then Indian stage. 'The scret way' by Lord Lytton was adopted by Prof. *Sundaram Pillai* and his drama '*Manonmaniyam*' opened a new way to produce Tamil dramas. His drama in poetry with all its western structural elements like 'acts' and 'scenes' the divisions and sub-divisions in a drama was not new to the Indian new playwrights as is evident from the Sanskrit dramas. But the acts and scenes (*Ankam* and *Kaḷam*) marked by the 'beginning, rise of action, climax, fall of action and conclusion' were in consonance with the five acts and their scenes. This definitely is the effect of the western style. Still its influence can be felt in some of the later Tamil dramas. Following its foot-steps more than a hundred dramas came into this field. But in prose drama V. G. Suryanarayana Sastriyar a puritan in style and traditionalist in treatment showed a new way by adopting a style using the classical words and phrases in his dramas. On the other hand these two trends had no real influence over the modern drama in Tamil.

Some Tamil scholars translated the dramas of Shakespeare in Tamil from 1876 onwards *Gopalachar, Sankara Das Swamigal, Sambanda Mudaliar* and *A. S. Narayanaswamy* tried in this line. In recent years Justice *Maharajan* translated some of the plays. Shakespearean techniques attracted many writers of Tamil drama and Tamil stage also adopted its principles in its own way. Certain other Tamil dramas were adaptions of Shakespeare.

Dramas by Sheridan, Moliere, Oscar Wilde and Shelley were translated into Tamil and they also influenced certain sections of the Tamil people. They began to write one act plays tragedies comedies and parodies. Some of the writers used the classical style in the dramas of Milton and some followed the spirit of Ibsen and Shaw. Some of the Tamil scholars like *T. P. Meenakshisundaram* felt the influence of the Greeks from the days of *Silappathikaram* the first epic in Tamil. Recently

Prof. *Durai Arangaswami* and others had translated some of the Greek dramas into Tamil. They helped to create dramatic characters as in those dramas. Some of the Russian and German dramas too had a notable impact on Tamil writers *'Ōr Iravu'* by *C. N. Annadurai* was a kind of new experiment that resulted in a hitherto unknown success in Tamil drama. Lengthy dialogues used in the early Tamil dramas attracted the Common man then but at present short and effective dialogues have replaced the old ones. *Muthuswami* and *Indra Parthasarathy* had done some experiments in writing modern dramas. Such new experiments, some of them healthy and some others attended with remarkable success, were possible in Tamil due to western impact. Sanskrit does have a good share in shaping some of the modern dramas. *V. G. Suryanarayana Sastriyar's 'Natakaviyal'* is almost a product of Sanskrit drama. *Swami Vipulananda's 'Matanga Sūḷāmaṇi* is a product of western dramatic art. But creative works in Tamil drama are products of western drama.

The relationship with the western scholars helped the Tamils to develop the new form of Essay. The books of Plato, the essays of Montaigne, Bacon and Lamb influenced this kind of Tamil literary form. Maraimalai Adigal the famous Tamil essayist had translated the essays of Addison and added copious notes at the end of the book. Since *Subramaniya Bharati* worked in the office of *'Swadesamithiran'* a Tamil daily, he had many an occasion to translate scholarly essays and to write original essays, a real contribution by himself to Tamil literature. *Thiru vi. Ka.* was an essayist with remarkable success in that he is a model even to-day. Since he read and mastered Bible with exceptional knowledge in the ancient poetical and philosophical works of this country and western countries, his style is telling in approach, simple in expression and logical in presentation. Authors like *'Kalki'* wrote humorous essays with pungent remarks which attracted a large section of people. The Style of Swift and Shaw though have different goals helped the authors like *Kalki, C. N. Annadurai* and others. *Mu. Va's* essays are very simple. The influence of Somerset Maugham

and H. G. Wells can be felt in his works. *T. P. Meenakshisundaram* wrote his thought provoking literary essays following the philosophical essays of Bertrand Russell.

Literary Criticism

Literary criticism, as a scientific study is completely new to Tamil. Evaluation in a general way can never be new to any language. But, as a separate and distinct activity, literary criticism is a western product in all its varieties. *V. V. S. Aiyar* with his matchless scholarship and talent of evaluation wrote a critical study of *Kamba Ramayanam.* He is the forerunner of modern criticism in Tamil. *T. P. Meenakshisundaram, A. S. Gnanasambandam, Mu. Va., Muthusivam* and *Desikan* expounded many theories available in the western criticism. *Raghunathan, Vanamamalai* and *Kailasapathi* have a very significant place in the field of Tamil literary criticism for their marxian approach.

Comparative literature has made its entry into the Tamil field. French and American theories are followed in this field by some of the scholars like *Kailasapathi, Peria Karuppan, Ramakrishnan* and *Satchidanandam.* But we have a long distance to go in this direction.

Due to the western impact and the development in the Tamil journalistic field biographical and autobiographical works have been published. In this field *Putumaipittan's* biographical study by *Raghunathan* and the autobiography written by *U. V. Swaminatha Aiyar* are notable contributions. The autobiography of *Thiru Vi Ka.* is subjective, but three autobiographical volumes of *Jeyakanthan* are more objective in following the works of Gorky. *Ma.Po.Si's 'Enathu Pōrāṭṭam'* portrays the national movement of Tamil Nadu.

Like Lord Chesterfield, Montagu, Walpole and Shaw, *Mu.Va.* wrote *'Annaikku'* (To Mother) *'Thambikku'* (To younger brother) *'Thangaikku'* (To younger sister) and *Nanparkku* (To friend) in letters in order to portray the social, political and economic conditions in Tamil Nadu. Some politicians in Tamil Nadu

like *Satyamurthy* and *C. N. Annadurai* used this form of letter writing to educate the masses.

The concept of Encyclopaedia is one of the very constructive contributions of western contact. Though some of the old *Nikandus* have elements of multi-disciplinary traits, the idea of encyclopaedia is completely new to Tamil. *Singaravelu Mudaliar's 'Abithana Chintamani'* is a remarkable work. After independence publication of Tamil *'Kalai Kalanchiyam'* in ten volumes is a stupendous work. *Periyaswami Thooran*, the editor and *T. S. Avinashilingam Chettiar*, the architect of the scheme deserve the thanks of the Tamil public for the Children's Encyclopaedia they brought out.

Many and varied are the effects of the western impact on Tamil. But it will be wrong to assume that only good came out of the western impact on Tamil. Let us identify both and get all the benefits by a constructive approach and be vigilant about the possible ill effects of the alien West.

C. S. Sundaram: The output of Sanskrit Literature in this 20th century has been vast and varied. Several scholars of this century have contributed to various branches of Modern Sanskrit Literature. Here modern Sanskrit Literature is to be understood not only as the present day writings, but as signifying the new forms, and the new themes which were handled.

The Introduction of English education led to two types of development of Sanskrit. On one side was the traditional way of the study of Sanskrit and the other was the study offered in schools and Colleges. Hence the knowledge of Sanskrit did not completely vanish from the soil. A few scholars who had undergone such a study attained a high degree of skill that they composed Mahākāvyas, Sandeśa kāvyas, Stotras and dramas. The Western literature and social concepts, the Independence Movement and the attainment of Indpendence all these had a great influence over the minds of Sanskrit scholars. The poems and dramas of the poets of the West were translated or

adapted in this language. The ideas of social life put forth by Westerners were opposed or accepted and treatises were written to establish their view points.

A brief account of the literature produced in the several branches of Sanskrit literature and the influence of West on the content and form of Sanskrit writings of this century are considered here.

Modern Science

It was made possible for the Sanskritists to gain a knowledge of the modern scientific subjects through articles and books written by scholars.

Mānavaprājāpatyam (Man as Creator SSpp. Feb. 1977 ff.) of Ravindra Kumara Sarma tries to show the ultimate failure of science. This poem in one hundred and sixty verses depicts how a brilliant young man goes to Germany and there he specialises in science and on his return he tries to create phase by phase a woman of his expectations; but finally his attempts become futile. Another work of interest is *Śukralokayātrā* of Vamsigopala Sastri. This work appears to be a forerunner to the modern Space age.

Novel

The Western influence is felt in this class of writings also. Several social themes have been taken up for these novels. This branch has been enriched by way of translations, adaptations and original productions.

Lāvaṇyamayi of Bankim chandra was rendered into Sanskrit by Appa Sastri. Another novel by the same Bengali author the *Kapālakuṇḍalā* was translated by Haricharan.

Kanakalatā of Kalyanarama Sastri, written in fine prose, is a romance based on Shakespeare's Lucrece. From Bengali Durgeśanandinī and Kṣatriyaramaṇī were translated. *Saudāminī* was a Novel written by Narasimhacharya. D. T. Tatacharya has rendered into Sanskrit the Tamil Novel *Menaka* by Vaduvur Duraiswami Aiyangar.

Minor Poems

In the present century the new trend which the minor poem assumed is noteworthy. In classical Sanskrit there were a few forms of minor poems as muktakas, yugmakas, kulakas and śatakas. But on the model of the Western minor poem with specific ideas and subjects, composed within a limited number of verses, several poems were written. These writings include also translations and adaptations from English literature.

The *Laghukāvyamālā* of Pandurangi Ramacandracarya (Madras, 1924) comprises the following translations:

Puruṣadaśāsaptaka (The seven stages of man from Shakespeare's 'As you Like It'), *Sumanorathah* (A Wish by Rogers), *Pitṛpadeśaḥ* (A father's Advice–from Hamlet Act. I.3) and *Sādhuvāda mañjarī* (All's Right with the World by Robert Browning).

The *Kiṅkiṇīmālā* of Y. Mahalinga Sastri, who hailed from the South, contains renderings from Shakespeare, Wordsworth, and Shelley and original poems.

In the Āṅgla Laghukāvyānuvādamālā of Pandit L.G. Khare there are about 35 minor poems of Western poets translated into Sanskrit. These include Longfellow's 'Psalm of Life' – '*Jīvanasūktam*' Scott's 'My Native Land' – Mama Janmabhūmiḥ, Tennyson's 'Home They brought the Warrior Dead', Shakespear's 'Consolation 'Sāntvanam', D. Grey's Elegy written in a country churchyard and several others.

Kalāpikā of Dr. Virendra Kumara Bhattacharya contains fifty sonnets on topics like Mṛgatṛṣṇikā and Mithyācāra and other themes.

The late Dr. Deshmukh was a very good and versatile scholar in Sanskrit and his contribution is substantial. He has translated several English poems and also Gandhi's sayings. His collection of Sanskrit poems Samskrita kāvya Mālikā (published by the Motilal Banarsidas) contains Tennyson's 'Dora' – 'Vinatā' (in 54 verses) 'Beggar Maid' Arthibālā (5 verses),

'Lady of Shallot' - Śaivalinī, Austin Dobson's 'A Fancy from Fontenelle, 'Japamālākara', Wordsworth's To the Cuckoo 'Parabhṛtam prati', Shakespeare's 'Fear No More' from Cymbaline *Mā chaiṣiḥ param*. This collection includes *Gandhi Sūkti-muktāvali also.*

The Samskrita Pratibhā, a Sanskrit Journal contains several renderings of Western authors. Harihara Trivedi's *Niśāmprati* is Shelly's poem 'To the Night' and Wordsworth's 'World is too much with us' is *Jagatprapañcamagnāḥ*. Durgadas Gosvami's *Śūnya manuṣyāḥ* is T. S. Elliott's 'Hollow Men'.

Srinivasa Sarma's rendering of Goldsmith's Deserted Village as Grāmīṇa pāṭhaśālā guruḥ and the seven stages of Man of Shakespeare as 'Manuṣyasya sapta daśāḥ' have all appeared in this journal.

Ramachandra Tambe has also put into Sanskrit verse Longfellow's 'Psalm of Life' as *Jivanastotra.*

The Padyapushpāñjali of V. Subrahmanya Iyer includes translations of modern English poems.

The poems Godiva and Burleigh Prabhu are not only mere translations of Tennyson's poems but they exhibit much originality in bringing out the inner spirit of the themes.

Tantuvāyavilāsa is based on the Epic Sila's Mariner's Soul. Another poem Prāvaraṇabhāṣitam of this author is an adaptation of Japanese Fairy tale.

Several other original poems of the author are also included in this work. *Kanaka Paṭṭikā* extols the glory of compassion. *Śramapraśamsā* is on the merits of work and labour, *'Strī'* is on feminine grace and beauty; *Virāvopadravaḥ*, denounces modern noise pollution.

Kāvyas

Poetical compositions of bigger dimension, falling under the category of Mahākāvyas are also numerous in number. Life

histories of National Heroes and Saints, Independence movement, aggression by foreigners, the several incidents that took place during freedom fight – all these formed the background on which several poetical treatises were written.

Mahatma Gandhi's life is described in *Gāndhigarimakāvya* of R. P. Chaturvedi. *Gandhi Gāthā* of Madhukar Shastri which is in 64 sections includes Gandhi's sayings in Doha metre; *Gandhi Gaurava* of Dr. Ramesh Chandra Sukla is a poetical piece on Gandhi's life. *Mahātma Vijaya* of K.L.V. Sastri is a lamentation on the death of Gandhi.

On the life and thoughts of Jawaharlal Nehru there are poetical treatises; the *Nehru Charitam* by Brahmananda Sukla, *Nehru Yaśo Saurabham* of Balabhadra Prasad Sastri, *Jawahara Jivanam* by Rama Saran Sastri and *Jawahara cintanam* by B. V. Velankar deserve mention here. The last mentioned work deals with his thoughts and ideas as expressed by him from time to time on various subjects. Some of the verses used herein are in various metres which consist of 16, 6, 8 and 7 mātras.

Virotsāhavardhana of Suresa Candra Tripathin deals with such topics as Chinese aggression, Chou En Lai going against his agreement and other aspects of Indian History. As the title itself suggests this work tries to bring enthusiasm to soldiers.

Pandita Kshama Rao was a versatile Sanskrit scholar. One of her poems *Satyāgrahagitā* in 18 adhyāyas renders in beautiful verses the incidents that took place during freedom fight, the Simon Commission, Round Table Conference and Dandi March. The work speaks about the state of affairs in a country where there are unruly rulers and also how one should take efforts with all his might to attain independence.

Mirālahari is another kāvya of hers on the life of the great devotee Mirā. Mrs. Rao possesses an admirable command of language and uses several metres with skill. Her imaginative

power is good and vivid and the delineation of characters is clear.

Besides these the life story of Jesus Christ and the history of the British Empire, the Crown and Coronation Durbar gave rise to the growth of several kāvyas. To this category belong the *Angrija candrikā* of Vinayaka Bhatta and the *Itihāsatamomani*, an account of the conquest of India by the English.

Rājāngla Mahodaya of Ramasvami Raju following the model of the Purāṇas gives an account of the foreign rule in India and incidently gives accounts of distinguished Indians like Iśwara Chandra Vidyasagar and others. The *Gitābhārata* in 21 cantos celebrates the rule of Britishers and Queen Victoria.

The *Yaduvṛddhasauhārda* of A. Gopala Ayyangar of Tirunelveli has for its theme the sensational romance and abdication of Edward VII.

K. S. Aiyaswami Aiyar describes in the *Jārjuvamśa* in 4 sargas, the ancestry of King George V.

Pandurangi Ramacandracarya celebrated the peace after World War I in his *Samaraśānti Mahotsava.*

Lenināmṛta is a poetical biography of Lenin in 15 Sargas. Communism, Lenin's Birth, his student days and imprisonment in Siberia, Bolshevik movement, and uprooting of Czar's power form the subject matter of this Mahākāvya.

There are about 24 Sanskrit versions of the Bible.

The Life of Jesus Christ has been rendered into Mahākāvya. Of these we may notice here Sree *Yesu Saurabham* of Thekkumkur A.N. Soma Varma Raja. This kāvya summarises the complete story of the Bible in picturesque verses.

Kristu Bhāgavatam of Prof. P. C. Devassia is another Mahākāvya in Sanskrit on the Life of Jesus Christ. Based on the versions of the Gospels and some biographies of Jesus Christ, the author shows his freedom and imaginative power as a poet by introducing new elements without altering the

authenticity of the narrative. Betrothal of Mary to Joseph, Mary's visit to Elizabeth, assasination of John, death of Judas are all elaborately dealt with. A verse describes the Sunset following the Sermon on the Mount. 'The Sun having drunk the eternally sweet nectar of the sermon of love that flowed from the lips of Jesus, which removes the troubles of the earthly existence, became calm and instantly withdrawing his rays and wearing the saffron robe dyed by the evening sky, entered humbly a cave near the setting mountain, a proper place for meditation'.

Campūs

The Sanskrit literature has a unique branch called campū in which there is a happy blend of verse and prose.

India's achievements during the past 25 years find a place in the *Gaṇarājyacampū* of Paramānanda Pandeya. There are sections about the dreams, the ideals and achievements of our national leaders. The concept of secularism, India's role in the liberation of Bangla Desh and Bank Nationalisation are also presented.

The *Makuṭabandha campū prabandha* of T. N. Narasimha chariar, which is in two chapters celebrates the Coronation of George V and Queen Mary.

Drama

In the field of Drama there has been a very large output. Mythological plays, Biographical plays, Historical plays, Political and Social plays, Humorous skits were all written. Some of the scholars who are outstanding in this field are Dr. V. Raghavan, Dr. J. B. Chaudhuri, S. B. Velankar, Y. Mahalinga Sastri, K. L. V. Sastri, Mathura Prasada Dikshit, M. M. Yajnik and Pt. Kshama Rao. Several Plays of Rabindranath Tagore have also been rendered into Sweet Sanskrit. In fact the number of plays that have appeared during this period is staggering.

Dr. V. Raghavan has written several short skits as well as two long plays. *Lakṣmīsvayamvara, Rāsalīlā* and *Kāmaśuddhi* are his short plays. Another play of his, *Vimukti* deals with

harassment by a wicked wife of her husband and vagabond life of their undisciplined sons. Finally all are made to understand the necessity for following the virtuous path. His another play *Anarkali* is based on the well known love story of Anarkali and Jehangir. Songs and dance sequences are introduced.

Alabdhagarmiya of K. R. Nair is a small play in one Act. The characters included are allegorical representations of Sanskrit language and Literature and Imagination. The sorrowful plight of the unemployed Sanskrit scholar is shown. When he is thinking of joining the army or explores the possibility of taking to Agriculture an offer is made to him for a small job in a school.

Pandita Kshama Rao's original story *Asūyini* was dramatised by her daughter Mrs. Lila Rao Dayal. This play in four acts features the superstitious life of the fishing folk and the problem of child sacrifice to Goddess Kāli.

The Story *Bālavidhavā* of the same poetess was dramatised by her daughter. This is in three Acts and has a social theme, the problems of a young widow.

Dr. Jatindra Bimal Chaudhuri from Calcutta has to his credit a number of plays. His drama *Bhārata Hṛdaya Aravindam* is on the life of Aurobindo and *Bhārata Bhāskara* is on the life of Rabindranath Tagore. The Life of Gandhi has been dramatised by the same author in his *Bharata Janakam*. Another play of this author *Bhāskarodaya* is based on the early life of Tagore in *15 Acts*. In this play the author has rendered some of Rabindra's Bengali songs into Sanskrit.

The *Melana Tīrtha Bhārata* of Chaudhuri is based on India's quest for unity.

Jārj Cakravartimakuṭābhiṣeka of Svetaranyam Narayana Dikshitar is a *nāṭaka* in five acts and the theme is the Coronation at Delhi of George V and Mary.

Delhi Sāmrājyam of Pt. Lakṣmaṇa Ṣurị is another play on British rule in 5 Acts.

Caṇḍa Tāṇḍava of Sri Jiva Nyaya Tirtha is an original play in two Acts. It presents the picture of the horrors of last World War. Marxism and Lenin, Hitler, Mussolini, the French and British leaders are introduced. Abstract characters like Greed Anger and Violence are also featured.

Bhārata Vijaya Nāṭaka by Mathura Prasada Dikshita is also an original play in eight Acts. In this play songs are introduced, Prākṛt and other languages are also used. This dramatises the history of India, the entry of Europeans into India the subsequent conquest of India by the British, the Indian Mutiny and fight for freedom under the National leaders like Tilak Gandhi and others.

Similarly *Susaṁhata Bhārata* of Pullela Sri Ramachandrudu, a drama in seven Acts, depicts the achievement of Independence. Churchill, Nehru and Dr. Radhakrishnan appear as characters.

Some of the well-known plays of Western scholars have also been rendered into Sanskrit. Shakespeare's Twelfth Night was dramatised as *Dvādaśi rātri* by Ananta Tripathi Sarma. Herein the naming of the foreign characters is noteworthy. Grsino is called as *Āśvina,* Sebastian as 'Śrīvatsala', Olivia as 'Alamprabhā' and Viola as 'Vimalā'.

Bhrāntivilāsa of Srisaila Diksita is a rendering in Sanskrit of Shakespeare's Comedy of Errors. Othello was translated by Raja Raja Varma.

Vasantikā svapna of Krishnamacharya is a drama adapted from Shakespeare's *A Mid Summer Night's* Dream and As you Like it' was rendered as '*Yathābhimatam*' by the same author.

Tennyson's Tragedy 'The Cup' was enlarged into a comedy of Five Acts in accordance with Indian Dramatic Convention under the Title *Kamalāvijaya* nāṭaka. This play adds fresh episodes stressing chastity and other virtues.

S. N. Tadpadrikar making use of the first part of the famous German play Goethe's Faust wrote a drama *Viśvamohana* in seven Acts.

Vaidya Bandhu of V. S. Venkataraghavachariar is a Sanskrit adaptation of Mollier's well-known comedy 'Mock Doctor or Physician in spite of himself'.

Apart from adaptation some of the plays showed influence of scenic Division etc. Some norms set up by Sanskrit Dramaturgists were also not strictly followed.

Dinarkarājakumāra Hemalekham by Sukhamoy Mukerjee is a Sanskrit version of the play Hamlet. In this we find scenic divisions into the Acts. No prologue (prastāvanā) or Epilogue (Bharatavākya) is used.

Students manouvering for the declaration of holiday is depicted in the farce *Manoharam Dinam* of A. R. Hebare.

Pariṇāma by Sri Cudanatha Bhattacarya is a tragedy featuring young modern men and women. This play discusses almost all the problems facing India as a result of the impact of Western civilization and Modern developments and Ideologies.

Kāñcana Kuñcikā by Viṣṇupāda Bhattacarya is an original play in eleven Acts. In this drama a few songs are also introduced. Comic element is also provided; the play depicts the life of a young scientist who is unemployed; broken marriage; contract between traditional and modern life; ladies playing Tennis etc. In general the play presents modern social life in sophisticated families.

S'atavarṣikā by Sri Jiva Nyaya Tirtha is another original play in two Acts. The theme is the destruction which science is likely to cause to humanity by its abuse. A man goes up into space on his rocket crossing several planets and causing harm to them. The planets Budha, Sukra etc. complain to Brahmā. Brahmā the creator calls the rocket man to his presence, points out the danger of the improper use of atoms and sends him back to the world.

Cāṇakya Vijaya of Pt. Śri Ramanath Misra Sarma is an original Historical play in five scenes. Here the acts are divided into scenes as in Western plays.

Some of the plays are of the nature of Opera. They are the *Meghadutottara* of B. Velankar which introduces dream scenes, *Rāmavanagamana* of Dr. Vanamala Bhavalkar and *Rāsalīlā* of Dr. V. Raghavan.

Biographies

The 'Biographies' of Vallabhacarya and Ramadas are given in *Bhārataratnamālā* of Hasurkar, Dayananda's life history is presented in *Dayānanda Digvijaya* of Akhilananda Sarma. *Mahātma Charitam* of P. S. Pathak, Sri *Rajendra Prasāda Charitam* of Pt. Vasudeva Shastri Latkar, *Sri Nehru Charita* of Brahmananda Sukla, *Ramakrishna Paramahamsa charitam* by Pancapakesa Sastri, *Vivekananda Charita* of K. S. Nagarajan, *Muthuswami Dikshita* of Dr. V. Raghavan - all these belong to this class.

The above survey will give an idea of the output of Sanskrit Literature in the 20th Century in the various fields due to the British rule in India.

The Development of science leading to the fission of atoms has had its influence on the minds of Sanskrit scholars which led to their writing short treatises or plays instructing the nation not to abuse scientific knowledge.

Similarly we have seen how the Independent spirit and resistance to British rule led to the development of poetical works reflecting the new spirit.

The forms of western poetry and drama had also their impact in as much as sonnets were composed and scenic divisions were used in their plays.

Thus the Sanskrit literature had a continuous growth during the modern period and showed a spirit of resilience to the impact of Western Civilization, ideologies, social concepts and literary conventions.

In conclusion, the Chairman thanked the participants and the audience present.

V

REPORT OF SEMINAR

The Institute of Traditional Cultures held a seminar on 'The Comparative Study of Cultures of Dravidians and Africans' at 4-15 P.M. on Friday, the 29th July 1983 in Room No. 48, Madras University Departmental Buildings. Dr. K. P. Aravanan, Professor and Head of the Department of Tamil, Loyola College, Madras led the seminar. Prof. P. Thirugnanasambandhan, M.A.,L.T., Director of the Institute presided. The proceedings of the Seminar are published below.

Religion

Dr. K. P. Aravanan: In ancient days, sometimes or almost all times, every old society had faith in God and other ethical principles. Moral principles depend on faith in God because of which human society still survives. Our ancestors had brought up through several ages good and harmonius relationship between man and the society. The ancient society at the initial stages did not set out any principles to regulate the relationship between men and God. For, it was assumed that it was only when men strengthened the relationship with each other they could be in right relationship with God. This is the basic norm governing almost all the religions existing today, without which no human civilization could have thrived.

Some societies have institutionslised the religion. Christianity and Islam are institutional religions. Such institutional phenomenon was almost rare among the Dravidians and the Africans.

Originally, the Dravidians and the Africans didn't have mass prayer, like the Christians or the Mohammedans.

Christianity, Islam and Judaism are based on monotheism. These religions preach of one God, who is the supreme of all. But traditional religions of the Dravidians and the Africans

insist on polytheism like the Egyptian, the Babylonian and the Greek. Therefore both have numerous Gods and deities. The Africans from the south of Sahara have, nearly, 216 deities.[1] The Dravidians also have numerous deities. A scholar in African studies opines:

'African belief differs from Indians in important ways. The notion of a circle of existence, gripping all beings in cycles of rebirth, and from which men might escape only by great effort to Nirvana, is quite lacking in African thought. Similarly the notion of reward or punishment being administered by rebirth into a higher or lower state, such as one finds in Plato as well as in Indian belief, is missing in Africa. The Indian idea of this present world as a place of sufferings and illusion is contrary to the African'.[2]

But the above view is true only of some religions which have originated from North India. Jainism, which originated from North India, teaches the concept of rebirth. Buddhism views life as one full of sufferings. These two religions were completely oriented to the North Indian soil, though their influence might have affected the south Indian religion. Basically, traditional religions of the Dravidians had neither the concept of rebirth nor the view, that the world is a place full of sufferings. Many tribes in India have no faith in these concepts. For example, the Santal tribes of West Bengal never believe in the concept of rebirth. According to them, after death one's soul passes on either to heaven or to hell, to remain there for ever. Baigas (Madhya Pradesh) never believe in rebirth.[3] One point must be noted here. Traditional religions of the Dravidians have almost been influenced by Hinduism, Jainism and Buddhism. The study of the traditional Dravidian religion prior to the influence of other religions has not been tried yet. Unless and until a study of the native religion's

1. Edwing. W. Smith, African ideas of God, index of God names pp. 305-308.

2. B G. Parrinder—African Traditional Religion p. 138.

3. இரு, பழங்.—பக். 80.

history is attempted without any preconceived views or opinions due to the influence of the present day religious mixtures, a true finding on the fact of the origin and nature of the native Dravidian religion's history will never yield the correct state of affairs and it would definitely lead one to a mistaken concept in regard to the Dravidian religious notions.

At the same time the religious thoughts of the Dravidians are also not entirely a parallel concept to those of the Black Africans. That is impossible also. But what one could easily identify is more similarities than dissimilarities between these two. The religious thoughts of the traditional Africans are more closer to those of the Dravidians including Egyptians than they are to those of any other race. The following points will strengthen the above opinion.

Temples :

Up to the reign of Pallavas (5th century A.D.) evidently the Dravidians had never had any monumental temples. Prior to Mahendra Pallava, (7th century) temples and buildings were built with perishable materials. Bricks and wood were the materials mainly used for buildings though many of them were richly decorated with mouldings, paintings and wood carvings. Similar architectural stage was recorded in Black Africa too.

The ancient temples might have been very small. We can assume that the priest alone could have entered inside the temple while the devotees stood outside the inner shrine. In a tropical country like south India and Africa this is understandable. Even the temple of Jerusalem was rather similar. Each temple in Tamil Nadu has a small room for deity. The priest alone is permitted to enter into the main shrine. At present, people are prohibited from entering into the place of the main shrine, to avoid any pollution. Historically, pollution could not have been the reason. In ancient time smallness of the shrine and narrow entrance to the altar must have been the real reason for the aforesaid prohibition. The five Pallava

temples (Panchapandava ratham) at Mamallapuram near Madras, are the existing samples of the ancient architecture. In these temples the inner shrine is so small and the entrance, so narrow that only one, (the priest) can enter and stand in front of the main shrine. The size of the African temple is almost the same as that of any temple in the pre-pallava - Dravidian India'.[4]

Animism :

Beliefs such as the world is inhabited by numerous spiritual beings who exercise a great influence on the life of human beings are common to the Dravidian and the African. The foremost Grammarian of Tamil, Tolkappiyar enumerates a list of living beings and classifies them on the basis of their senses. Palamoli, an important ethical Tamil literature, says that every living being in this world has a soul according to its size. Śaiva Siddhanta, a native religion of the Dravidian land is based on three concepts, i.e. paśu, pati and pācam. The soul is one among the three. The belief of animism is not appreciated much at present in Africa. But the concept of animism still survives in Dravidian India.

Nature-Gods :

At first human beings started their worship only through the natural objects. Earth, water, fire, wind and ether were worshipped in different ways. The Dravidians and the Africans consider the earth and the water as female deities. Both believe earth as their mother. The Mendes of Sierra Leone, think that the Mother-earth is the wife of the supreme being (sky God). The Akan people of the southern and central part of Ghana, name their supreme being as Nyankopon who is always referred to with the earth God Asase Ya, as his wife. In India, Bhū Devi' is considered a wife of Lord Vishṇu, who stays in Vaikuṇṭam. The Ashanti of Cold coast believe that the earth is animated by a female character. Ibo of Nigeria

4. The temples of the period of Pallavas and after are not considered here.

calls their earth deity as 'Als' or 'Ane'. The word ala' may be linked with 'nilam' (earth) in Tamil, and the word 'ane' with annai (mother or man or maṇṇu-earth in Tamil. Also in Wolof, there is a word for earth namely 'ban', which sounds similar to the Dravidian word maṇ.[5]

Water:

Water is held in esteem and is considered more precious in the countries like India and black Africa. People's life entirely depends on water. Therefore worship of rain, river and lake are very prominent in these areas. People of both regions consider rain as their mother Goddess.

The Indians believe that rivers are like mother. They believe that Lord 'Śiva' married Gangā (the River Ganges) as his second wife and carried her always on his head. In West Africa the rivers are considered wives of the storm God. The river Niger is one among them.

In Africa, sea is also considered as Goddess. In Senegal, a number of myths tell about the battles between land-Gods and the sea-Goddesses. Dravidian fishermen call the sea as *Kaṭalamma* (sea-mother). The fishing communities of Kerala, still believe that, if wife loses her chastity, while her husband is away for fishing on the sea, the sea Goddess would swallow her husband.

Fire:

The worship of 'Śiva and Cēyōn (Murukan) in Tamilnadu, would have originated from the ancient worship of the fire. The Africans also have an equivalent for *Muruka* as *Muruṅgu.* The Black Africans always identify 'Murungu' with brightness of light. This would have originated from the worship of fire or light.

Storm:

The people of India consider the wind as one among the five basic elements. (Pancabhuta). They worship wind as Vāyu

5. Dravidian Etymological Dictionary word No. 3517.

Bhagavan – wind God. Hanuman worship is prevalent all over India. He is considered the God of wind – son of Vayu. According to the Ramayana tradition, Hanuman was an eloquent chief minister and native of Kiṣkindhā of Dravidian India, though Ramayana originated from the Vedic tradition of north India. Linguists conclude that the word Hanuman evolves from the Tamil root āṇmanti (male-monkey). Hanuman was described as black monkey who belonged to the monkey kingdom of Kiskindhā in Dravidian India. In short, the following may be noted here.

Hanuman – 1. Black monkey 2. Very eloquent chief minister 3. Native of Dravidian India. 4. Led a kingdom of black monkeys of Kiskindhā. 5. The name itself is of Dravidian origin, 6. God of wind. (Dravidians' concept of nature worship).

These descriptions of Hanuman and kingdom of Kiṣkindhā are all closely related to black Africa. The black colour, monkey appearance, polyandrous marriage system of Kiṣkindhā and the belief in wind-God are apt proofs to show possible clues to the erstwhile occupation of the black people in South India.

In West Africa, particularly the Yoruba and Ibo of Nigeria, and the Ewe of Dahomey and Togo worship the storm as God. The storm God has temples, priests and regular worship. He is considered one among the greatest and powerful God. His temples and priests are more honoured in many parts of Africa.

The Africans believe that the breath of being is remains of God. They consider the wind as the representation of God on earth. Regarding this, Ashanti has a proverb i.e., "If you would tell God tell the wind".

In India, the worship of Hanumān (Wind God) is widely prevalent. A comparative study of Hanumān worship in India and storm God worship in Africa will enrich the study on Dravido-Africans.

Sky :

The Dravidians strongly believe that the sky is the abode of all heavenly Gods that descend on earth. The Tamils call them as Vānōr or Viṇṇōr *Viṇṇōr* which means 'men of sky'. According to them, the place for the dead, good or evil is in the sky. They name it as '*Vānulakam*' (sky world) or *Mēlulaka* (upper world). Common folks of Tamilnadu, usually raise their hands towards the sky and say "God is there, He will look into each and every affair of the world".

Similarly the Africans, believe that the sky is the abode of God.[6] and sometimes they say, God is above and beyond the sky. They consider that the Sun also has its abode there but it falls in the evening while God remains there.

Sun :

The worship of sun is universal. But its main centres in the Old world would have extended from India through west Asia and Egypt to Greece and Rome. In the New stone age (8000 - 9000 B.C.) rock paintings of the Sun were discovered near Singhanpur in Madhya Pradesh, in Bellary district of Karnataka and in Edakal of Kerala. Svastika believed to be a symbol of the Sun, was discovered in the Indus Valley. Besides, the figures of four-spoked wheels, which may be taken as symbolising the sun, have also been found. Birds like falcons representing the Sun God were also discovered.

Great Tamil epic Cilappathikaram (II century A.D.) begins with a separate prayer to the Sun God. Some scholars opine that Thirukkuṛal, a monumental ethical Tamil work in India also praises the sun God in its first couplet as '*Pakavan*'. It may be the shortened form of '*Pakalavan*', which means the 'Lord of the day'. South Indian tribal custom also confirms the above notion. The Kanikkars of Tamilnadu and Kerala call the sun by the name *Pakavan* and reckon it as a female. Early at sunrise, they place in front of their huts a lighted lamp, fruits, beaten and fried rice and say "Oh Gods, please

6. L. S. Senghor, Senghor Prose and Poetry, p. 38.

accept our offerings." Besides, the other south Indian tribes called Muthuvans and Uralis of Kerala have faith in Sun-God. Every morning, each Muthuvan worships the sun with folded hands. According to Uralis, the Sun is the creator and father of all souls. Some other central and north Indian tribes, Santals, Hos, Mundas, Birhors and Saoras are also believers of the Sun God.

On the occasion of Ponkal, the harvest festival in Tamilnadu people, primarily worship the Sun God with cooked rice and other offerings. Even today the worship of Sun God is in vogue among the village folks of South India.

Similarly the worship of Sun God was prominent among the Egyptians. Black Africans also had this worship. The Ashanti of Gold coast personified their Supreme *Nyame* as the sun. The tribe Ewe of Dahomey and Togo called their God as *Lisā* which has the sun's dish in his mouth. Ibo of Nigeria also has a sun shrine.

Moon :

A number of Hindu legends tell about the moon. These legends explain that the moon is a God of lust. Mothers treated him as a heavenly friend of their children. Therefore, they carried their children on their hips and pointed out their hands towards the moon and in folk-songs they invited the moon - God to accompany their sons in play. This is a common feature in every village of Tamilnadu. A number of poets have composed a lot of songs based on this theme. (Ampulipparuvam). Cilappathikaram, the oldest Tamil epic (2nd century A.D.) has a separate prayer for moon in its first chapter.

In Africa too, the worship of moon survives among Ngomba of Northern Belgian Congo, Ashanti of Gold-coast and a few other tribes in Dahomey. The Ewe of Dahomey and Togo, believe their Mother-Goddess *Mau,* as a personification of moon. Ashantis think that their Queen Mother is the daughter of moon. Tamils consider their Chola Kings belong to the Solar dynasty and the Pandiya Kings belong to the Lunar dynasty.

The custom of showing moon to a child is a wide spread phenomenon. The Gu woman of Dahomey throw the child up gently in the air at the full moon, nine times for a boy, seven times for a girl, saying, "Look at the moon, little one" And far away in South Africa, the Basuto and Thonga show the moon to the child and say, "there is your father's sister".[7]

RELIGIOUS BELIEFS

The Dravidians and the Africans do believe in the existence of God. Both have common beliefs regarding God. The following will prove it.

King takes action immediately, but God takes action slowly. ' Aracan anru kətkum, Katavul ninru kətkum". This is a commonly used proverb among the Tamils. Through this, one can understand, that the people have strong faith, that God would hear their prayers and would take necessary actions against the offenders. Similarly the 'Ambo' has a proverb which means the same as in Tamil. "God walks, he does not run". "There is no place where God is not"[8] is also another proverb equivalent to the Tamil proverb "Katavuḷ enkum irukkiṟār ethilum irukkiṟār".

God – Maker of Man:

The people of Dravidian land say that God created men and all other beings. Human beings are moulded by God and sent by Him to the world through the mother's womb. The Africans too believe in the same way. According to them, God creates child and plants it in the woman's womb. It is believed that Lord mixes the blood and water from both sex and sets them in a mould as if it were clay.

Both have a belief in ritual rights and such powers are hereditary.

7. Parrinder, African Traditional Religion, p. 94.

8. Proverb on Kalunga: Kalunga Oha ends. The tondoka Afric ide, God p. 145. 6. Ovambland—S. W. Africa.

Family God :

Every family of the Tamils has a separate deity for them. This deity is known as clan or family-deity (Kula teyvam). Like this, Black African families have small shrines, sacred trees or piles of stones for the clan worship.

In Dravidian India the devotees offer coconut or areca nut besides other things, when they visit temples. The coconut offering is a common feature in all Hindu temples of South India. Instead of coconut or areca nut the Africans (Nigerian) offer Kolanut to their Gods.

Kneeling with folded hands is a way of honouring God. But folding hands with both palms together and touching the earth by the forehead in a lying posture by prostrating or kneeling down are the features of Indian worship. This type of worship is prevalent among the people of Ruanda and Urundi of Africa.[9]

Human Life – an ocean :

According to literary and religious traditions of the Tamils life is explained in this way. Life is like an ocean, to cross the ocean (life) is the aim, the faith in God is the only boat to cross the life-ocean. Through this boat one can cross it' and reach the world of God.

Saint Thiruvaḷḷuvar describes birth as an ocean. (piṛavi perunkaṭal).[10] The Jains name their saints as Tırttankarar which means one who has crossed the birth-sea. The word *Kaṭavul* meaning God in Tamil may be explained in the following way. *Kaṭa* – to cross; *Kaṭavuḷ* – one who has already crossed the birth-sea.

Lushais (Mizos) an Indian tribe also has this idea. According to them, 'every man has two souls, one is wise and the other is foolish and the souls of the dead depart to the

9. For Illustration See: Aravaanan Ed. Dravidians and Africans—Photo Appendix.

10. Thirukuraḷ, 7.

Mi - thi - khna (dead man's village) wherefrom the souls who have earned special merit by their good deeds in this world go to Pialral the land beyond the Pia river.[11]

The Ijaw of the Southern Nigeria has a similar belief. It is related that the deceased has to cross a river, where an old ferry - woman; demands the money that was buried with the corpse. Memorials of the dead often contain miniature boats, like that which is supposed to ferry the dead over the waters, and which bear some resemblance to the funeral boats which were put in ancient Egyptian graves.

Heaven or Hell:

According to the Hindus as well as the Dravidians, after death, there is heaven for good and hell for bad. Like that, some people from Nigeria believe that the "heaven of fresh breezes", awaits the good and a heaven of broken pots for the bad. They believe also that God will punish the offenders.

Ama (West Africa) is the judge who decides the punishment for evil-doers. He stays underground where truth alone shall be spoken. Ama sends the most evil men to the 'land of red earth', a sort of second death, where they are lost for ever and have no chance of rebirth.

THE AFRICAN WORSHIP OF MURUNGU AND THE TAMILS WORSHIP OF MURUKA

Hill Worship:

People think that the mountains are the abodes of Gods and Goddesses. What is the reason for this belief? Generally people believe that God is above all. Therefore they think God stays above them that is, in the sky or on the mountains. There is yet another reason for God's residence on the mountains. That is, the sky is the permanent abode of God. Mountains are the nearest place from the sky. So people believe that the mountains are the nearest abodes of God than the plateau.

11. Anthropology in India, p. 179.

1.1 Holy-Hill Places:

In South India Tirumalai (Andhra Pradesh) Paḷanimalai, Swāmi malai, Tirupparankunṛam, Paḷamuthir cōlai, Tiruttaṇi, Tirukkaḷukkunṛam (Tamil Nadu) etc. are the holy-hill places of God. In Dravidian states usually one can locate the temple on the top of the mountain whether very high or not. The Hindus believe in the Kailaya malai (A mount of Himalayas) as the permanent abode of the supreme God Śiva. Jains also worship their Tīrttankaras on the peak of mountains. Bāvāpuri, Sravaṇabelgola and a few other places of Jains are appropriate examples of their hill worship. Therefore one can infer from this that hill-worship is a common feature in India especially in South India. In the villages of Tamilnad, priests or some God-possessed people reach ecstatic state and speak as if they are God. People believe that their words come from God. After a few minutes, the ecstatic people calm down. People call this stage as "God, gone to His mountain" (Sāmi Malai ēriṭuccu). Through this, one can understand the common belief of Dravidian folk that the God's abode is mountain. Similarly the Africans believe that spirits or their Gods stay on every high hill. Many villages or towns in Africa nestle under the hills. People worship the hill-spirit or God as their main deity. Absokuts is a town in Nigeria. This town was built under a hill rock. The name of the town itself implies the name of the rock as Paḷani, Thirupparankunṛam, Thiruttaṇi in Tamilnadu and Thiruppati in Andhra Pradesh etc.

Gikuyus of Kenya:

The Gikuyus of Kenya call their supreme being Ngai. The Gikuyus believe the mount Kenya is the abode of their Supreme being. Therefore these people address the prayers or do their sacrifices to God Ngai, towards mount Kenya. They raise their hands towards it and offer their sacrifices to it.

Mende People:

Mende people of black Africa worshipped the mountain regularly being the dwelling place of God. They went to the top of the hill and called "big hill big hill". If they heard

an echo "Whoo whoo" from the slope of the hill, then they became satisfied as they believed that the echo was the answer of God. These people sacrificed sheep and goats as offerings to God. They cooked them, mixed them with rice and red palm oil. After that, they placed their offerings on a banana leaf.[12] Then they requested God "Here is water, wash your hands, eat the rice and drink the water".

Muruka Worship :

The above account shows that the belief about the mountain-abode of God is a common belief among the Dravidians and the Africans. Another important point of similarity is the worship of Murukh in Tamil Nadu and of Murungu in Africa.

Mountain Abodes of Lord Muruka :

The Tamils believe, mountains are the abodes of God Muruka. According to them Paḷani, Paḷamuthir cōlai, Tirupparankunṟam, Swāmi malai, Thiruttaṇi and Thiruccentūr are the six important abodes of Lord Muruka. Among the six, five are mountains except Thiruchentur. Some scholars opine Thiruppati (the abode of Lord Vishnu at present) was also another abode of God Muruka. Ancient literary evidences in Tamil confirm that mountains are the holy dwellings of Muruka. Later literatures call them 'arupatai vitu (அறுபடை வீடு). A famous Tamil poet of Cankam age, Nakkirar composed a separate long song for this, which is called *Thirumurukāṟṟuppaṭai*. *Tholkāppiyam* the oldest grammar (Ist century B.C.) in Tamil calls Muruka as Cēyōn and it mentions that the mountain is the abode of Cēyōn. According to Anthropologists mountain was the oldest residence of human race. *Tholkāppiyam* also has given the

12. BANANA LEAF: The use of banana leaf is an uncommon practice in Africa except in a few areas. In those areas also, they use banana leaf only on ceremonial occasion. But, among the Dravidians, the use of banana leaf is a common practice not only in ceremonies but also in their homes while serving food. African experts consider that the banana tree was introduced by the Indians through their east African contact. Therefore, the ceremonial use of banana leaf also might be due to the influence of the Indians.

first place to mountain and its God Cēyōn (Cēyon meya maivarai ulakamum – the mountain regions of Muruka). Most of the Africans also believe that mountains are the holy places of the Supreme being.

Gikuyus' Ceremony to God Murungu:

Like the Dravidians, the Africans also name their God as Murungu. The Gikuyus of mount Kenya name their ancestral God as Murugu and celebrate a ceremony called *'Koraria* Murungu, which is supposed to keep the Gods awake. This ceremony is considered as an act of communion with the ancestral God (Murungu), whose protection is invoked to guide and protect the people through 'iruva' (initiation) ceremony and at the same time, to give them the wisdom of their fore-fathers.[13]

Muruka's Connection with Cock:

Nearly twenty five ethnic groups of East Africa name their God as Murungu or Mulungu. Nyiks, Eastern Bandus worship the deity Murungu. They believe that human beings are the hens and chickens of Murungu. In Dravidian states some legends of Muruka associate the evil human beings with cock. A legend connects this cock to Muruka as an emblem on Muruka's flag.

Muruka's Association with fire or Light:

The Gikuyus called the supreme God as Murugu, Murungu is believed to live on four holy mountains. They think these sacred mountains are the places of brightness. In prayers and sacrifices, the Cikuyus call their God possessor of brightness (Mwene Nyaga). This name is associated with the Gikuya name of mount Kenya (Kere - Nyaga) which means that which possesses brightness or mountain of brightness.

Birth of Muruka:

A striking similarity is found here. The worshippers of Murungu in Africa associate their supreme being with brightness.

13. Jomo Kenyatta, Facing Mount Kenya, p. 136.

Similarly the Tamils of Dravidian land also connect God Muruka with brightness or light. Cēyōn or Cevvēḷ are a few other names of Muruka. It means, a man of red or fire or light. A legend of Muruka also confirmed its relation with fire or light. According to that Muruka was born from the six sparks that emanated from the forehead of Lord Śiva. The God of fire carried these sparks and put them in the pond of Śaravana where he was brought up by six heavenly ladies (Kārttikai makaḷir). Even today in the month of Kārttikai (November) the Festival of Light is celebrated in all the temples of Lord Muruka. This festival is associated fully and only with light or fire. People lit a number of lights in and around their houses. In front of each temple a bonfire is made of palmyra leaves heaped in a conic form. The association of light with Muruka is quite obvious.

The Places of Murungu Worship in Africa:

The worship of Murungu is common among a number of ethnic groups in Africa. The East Africans share the major part.

Nyanja, Yao, Kamba, Nyika, Gikiyu, Sena and other twenty one ethnic groups believe Murungu as their supreme being. Kamba and Nyika are the largest in East Africa. Murungu worship has spread all over, more particularly in the Eastern Bantu Zone, i.e. stretching from Uganda in the north through Kenya, Tanzania Zambia, Malawi and Mozambique north of the Zambezi.

The Word Murungu and its Meaning:

Murungu, Mlungu, Mulku, Mungu and Mugu are the words for God in twenty five languages of East Africa covering an area from lower Zambezi to lake Victoria and from lower island to the river Loangwa. The correct explanation of the word Murungu is yet to be traced. The key to this may be in Dravidian land. The following meanings were given by various African scholars. Father Torrend said that Mulungu is only a corruption of phoenician Moloch.

1. putting together rightly 2. be in order
3. put in order 4. the great one and 5. clan family.

Above all, the meaning for Murungu associated with light or brightness is more appropriate. All the African and Dravidian people associate Lord Muruku or Mulugo with the element of light or brightness.

There is no plural form for this word in both. Because God is one. Anyhow, the meaning of the word 'Murungu' is yet to be studied further.[14]

Connection with Thunder and Lightning :

Black Africans consider lightning and thunder are the voices of Murungu.

The Sena of Africa says 1. Mulugu asobuumba - Mulungu rains 2. Mulugu asoguma – Mulungu thunders and the Yao of Africa says, Mulungu anema – Mulungu is speaking when thunder starts at the commencement of the heavy rain. Similar custom is prevalent among the Dravidians also. If thunder starts the folk will start telling "arjunā arjunā" in some places and "Murukā Murukā in some other places of Tamilnad.

Conclusion :

In short the worship of Murungu in Africa resembles the worship of Muruka of Tamilnadu in the following ways: 1. Common name 2. Hill abode 3. Absence of plural form 4. Association with cock 5. Association with fire or light and 6. Association with thunder.

Common Origin of the Dravido–African :

Are these resemblances merely a coincidence? Or do they indicate a common background of the Dravidians and Africans once living under the same shed? It has to be investigated further.

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14. This worship might have originated from the word for clan or family. 'Vēlan' is another name of Muruka. It also denoted a clan. A clan called Velankudi is in Tamilnadu under the name of a village (Thanjavur Dist). African languages also have the same meaning i.e. clan.

SORCERY AND WITCHCRAFT

The belief in sorcery and witchcraft is very common among the village folk of Dravidian land, especially of Kerala. A number of people are still following it. Rings, chains and talisman are produced by mystic formulas and worn by the people. They believe, these charmed things, will protect them from the evils and enemies. Even now a number of houses have charmed copper plates on the main door to protect the house from the evil spirits.

Demons or Ghosts:

Numerous tales about demons or ghosts are being told and strongly believed by the country folk. The exorcist has a leading part, in curing the demonism. Devil dances are also being mentioned in Tamil literature. Tholkappiyam, the oldest grammar of Tamil mentions ghosts which stray around the battle fields. The famous 6th century Tamil poetess Kāraikkālammaiyar was considered a ghost during the later part of her life.

Quarrel with Sorcerer:

Generally, people respect the sorcerers because quarrel with sorcerers, they believe, will bring unusual events like breaking their limbs, developing internal pains etc. Though modernisation and education has sufficiently been able to eradicate these superstitions from towns and cities in India, it has still a stronger foothold in rural area. In Africa, even in towns and cities, these "gri-gries" have a dominant role among the people whether they are male or female, educated or uneducated.

Despite the fact that Islam and Christianity have occupied major regions of Africa, they still follow their age old customs about sorcery and witchcraft. Every citizen of Africa, usually wears some kind of rings or bangles which are 'gri-gri' (charmed rings) like the Dravidian folk.

Priest's Ecstatic State:

People believe that God or Goddess would come through the priest during festival days. At that time beating of drums

and play of other musical instruments, lovely prayers induce the priest to attain an ecstatic state. The sayings of priest in such an ecstatic state are treated as the words of God. Not only during festival occasions but also on some other days, some people of both (excluding priests) on reaching an ecstatic state speak to the people as God. Their sayings will be treated by the country folk as the sacred words of God. This belief still survives in the villages of Tamilnadu. This belief is common to both the Dravidian and the African continents.

Deadmen Become Ghosts:

A ghost is, it is believed, the spirit of a person, who has died recently. Some ghosts bring plague to men and illness to children. To recover from illness, people conduct rituals or they approach witches. This is a common custom among the Dravidians and the Africans. The Gikuyus of Mount Kenya conduct a mock-battle against these ghosts. The Keralites of South India conduct a small mock-battle to recover a person from the suffering caused by a snake.[15]

Shaving the Head:

Shaving completely the head is an offering to God in Dravidian land. This custom is so prominent in Thiruppati in Andhra Pradesh, Palani in Tamilnadu and many other places in South India.

The Africans also do this head-shaving on certain occasions There is a belief that illness is carried to the people by evil-spirits. To remove the evil spirits, people would conduct a ceremony. In the early morning of the subsequent day after the ceremony, mothers engage in a ceremony of shaving the heads of small children who were not able to take part in the battle. This is a custom of Gikuyu people of Kenya.

Protection from Evils:

Like the Dravidian custom, the African village houses have bundles of feathers, bunches of leaves, packets wrapped in

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15. Thurston - Ethnogra p. 290.

cotton thread, or great parcels handing from the ceiling of rooms to protect their occupants from the evils. The African shops have packages or magic brooms nailed above the door, to repel burglars or to attract trade.

Africans strongly believe that some people possess evil powers. These people who possess magic powers are responsible, it is believed, for causing broken limbs, cramp, internal pains still born babies and twins. Any unusual event is considered an omen against which sorcerers are on the warpath.

Forecast :

Both the Africans and the Dravidians do firmly believe that it is possible to trace the past events or deeds, forecast the future, find out lost goods and discover thieves through astrologers and diviners.

IMAGES OF GOD

God is Formless :

Verrier Elwin, a well known Anthropologist on Indian tribes is of the opinion that the worship of idols and images is not so popular in tribal India.[16] It is extremely rare to find any image of tribal God. Even the great tribes, the Gonds, the Santals, the Bhils and the Nagas never have any image for deities in their shrines, though they make them by stones, lumps of earth and bits of shapeless wood.

Some Images before Temple :

Sometimes, some images are installed before the deities. They are not the images representing Gods but are merely offerings to the Gods. In this way, the images of horses, elephants, human figures, birds and the like are seen crowded in and out of the temple. But plain dwellers worship some images in their shrines. Their literature also elaborates the form of their Gods. ' Even now, in their domestic ceremonies,

16. The tribal people of India – Chapter Tribal Art by Verrier Elwin p. 129.

village folks simply make some images with cowdung or saffron in the shape of a standing egg which no one can identify as to what God it represents as it has no particular form; but people believe that they represent their Gods. For instance, still the people of South India represent Lord Siva only through a shapeless stone (Lingam) in their shrines. The great Grammarian Tolkappiar mentions the name of Gods, but he does not describe their images. The word Muruka, the traditional God of Tamils, simply means nothing but the natural beauty. Some devotional literature in Tamil, denotes God as the formless (உருவிலி) Therefore the general belief of the Dravidians about God is that God is formless, whether they are tribes or not.

Similarly, the Africans do not have particular image of their God. The following words of Edwin. W.Smith from his editorial on 'African ideas of God,' are more appropriate in this context.:

> "I asked the Director of the great Tervuren Museum 'In all these thousands of figuries carved by the wood workers of the Congo, have you any images of God?"

"Not one", was the prompt reply. And Dr. Lindblom, an acknowledged expert on African material culture, added:

'Nor anywhere in Africa'. Dr. Parrinder mentions a statue of Mawer, the deity of Ewe, the only one he knows; and this is a rare exception. Images of lesser Gods there may be but not of Supreme Being.[17]

(To be continued)

17. African Ideas of God p 12.

REPORT OF SEMINAR

The Institute of Traditional Cultures held a seminar on 'Linguistic Affinity between Dravidian and Japanese' at 4 P.M. on Wednesday, the 28th September 1983 at the University Annexe, Marina. Dr. Pon. Kothandaraman, M.A., Ph.D., Department of Tamil Literature, University of Madras, led the Seminar. Prof. P. Thirugnanasambandhan, M A.,L.T., Director of the Institute presided. The following is the report of the seminar.

1. Introduction :

Dr. Pon. Kothandaraman: The main purpose of this paper is to examine the similarities found between the Tamil and Japaness languages and to find out historical reasons for such similarities. When we find similar features in two different languages we should be careful in giving any concrete explanation. The similarities may be (1) due to chance resemblance (2) due to borrowing or (3) due to genetic relationship. Suppose that there are a number of lexical items similar to both the languages; then a great number of lexical items showing similarities cannot be taken for chance resemblances. They may be due to borrowing or genetic relationship, The basic vocabularies which are frequently used in a language and the vocabularies which are commonly found in the old written records are not likely to be borrowings. If the similarities are not due to chance resembalance nor due to borrowings, then we may surmise that they may be due to genetic relationship.

There are about five hundred lexical items found in Japanese language which are phonetically and semantically similar to the corresponding items in Tamil.[1] All these items

1. Susumu Ohno has collected nearly 500 items and carefully studied them. For more details please see *Sound Correspondences between Tamil and Japanese* by Susumu Ohno.

cannot be considered accidentally similar. They cannot be explained as borrowings either. We have to carefully examine them with the help of historical and comparative method.

2. The Tamil Language:

Tamil is one of the Dravidian languages which has the earliest written records and which has retained the maximum amount of characteristic features of the Proto-Dravidian. For the sake of convenience we compare the Japanese forms in this paper with the Tamil ones which could be considexed the best representative of Dravidian. It may be mentioned here that Robert Caldwell, the father of comparative Dravidian studies has carefully compared certain Tamil words with Chinesel Japanese, Korean and Mangolian words and suggested historica, connection.[2]

3. The Japanese Language:

As observed by John Whitney Hall, "Japan is today a modern nation in the full sense of the term, yet, its history is less familiar to us than the histories of those Western Powers that it has now outstripped, or of the other countries of Asia that have gained recognition as the birthplaces of ancient civilizations or world religions".[3] The history of Japanese language before 5th century is not clear. Although it was suggested that the Japanese language might be related to Korean, no known external affiliation is established so far.

4. Work on Dravidian and Japanese relationship:

For the past few years considerable amount of work is being done on the relationship between Dravidian and Japanese.[4] A paper entitled "The Relationship of the Tamil and Japanese

2. Please see Robert Caldwell's *"A Comparative Grammar of the Dravidian or South Indian Family of Languages"*, pp. 625–26.
3. See John Whitney Hall's *Japan – From Prehistory To Modern Times*, p. 1.
4. Susumu Ohno, Akira Fujiwara, Susumu shiba ann others are working on this problem. For the title of the papers and books please see the Bibliography.

Languages" by Susumu Ono was presented in the International Conference of Tamil Studies of Madurai in 1981. During the discussion on the Origin of Japanese, in the XIIIth International Congress of Linguistics (1982) at Tokyo, the linguistic affinities between Dravidian and Japanese was discussed in detail.

Similarities between Tamil and Japanese :

Similarities are found between Tamil and Japanese at phonological, morphological and syntactic levels. In certain cases semantic and cultural features also are strikingly similar in them which seem to be worth studying separately.

5. Phonological similarities :

In Tamil we find five short vowels i.e., a, i, u, e and o and five long vowels corresponding to the short ones. In Japanese there are no long vowels.

Tamil		*Japanese*
a	ā	a
i	ī	i
u	ū	u
e	ē	e
o	ō	o.

The following are the consonants we find in Tamil and Japanese languages.

Tamil

k	c	ṭ	t	p	ṟ
ṅ	ñ	ṇ	n	m	ṉ
y	r	l	v	ḻ	ḷ

Japanese

k	g	s	z	t	d	h	b	p
n	m							
y	r	v						

5.1 Vowel correspondences.

When we compare the lexical items (5.1.1) the following correspondences are found in Tamil and Japanese.

Tamil		Japanese
a,	ā	a
i,	ī	i
u,	ū	u, ŏ
e,	ē	i
o,	ō	a, ŏ

5.1.1. Examples for Vowel Correspondences.

Phoneme (Tamil)	*Tamil*	*Japanese*	*English equivalent*
a	aṭi	asi	'foot'
	aṉṉai	ane	'elder sister'
	kal	kara	'stone'
	nampu	namu	'to desire'
	maṭam	mata	'ignorance'
ā	cāy	Sa	'to grow thin, thin'
	ñālam	na	'earth'
	tāvu	tab–u	'to fly'
	kāmpu	kab–i	'flower stalk'
	pāmpu	fabu	'snake'
i	iraval	irafu	'to borrow, borrowed thine'
	iṟu	iru	'percolate'
	piḻi	firu	'to press out'
	iṟai	iraka	'roof'
	picai	fisigu	'squeeze'
ī	nī	i–nu	'go away, leave'
	nīṅku	nigu	'to run away'
	mī	mi	'height' dignity'
u	uku	uku	'to fall off'
	uka	ukaru	'make merry'
	uṟu	uru	'to become ripe'
	uṟaṅku	uragu	'to sleep'
	tumi	tunu	'to cut off'

Phoneme (Tamil)	*Tamil*	*Japanese*	*English equivalent*
ū	ūṭu	utu	'the interior'
	ūtu	uti	'to blow'
	kūval	kubo	'well, pit'
	cūppu	sufu	'to suck'
	tūval	tubasa	'feather, wing'
e	e–	i–	interrogative base
	ceppu	ifu	'to say'
	ceṇṭu	sida	'ball'
	ñekiḷ	niki	'to be tender hearted, soft'
	nel	ni	'rice'
ē	ēku	iku	'to go'
	ētu	Sita	'red'
	nēr	niru	'to assemble'
o	oppu	afu	'to agree'
	kocu	ka	'mosquito'
ō	ōppu	ofu	'to drive away'
	pōttu	fotu–	'male of animals'

5.2 Consonant correspondences :

When we compare the lexical items (5.2.1.) we find the following correspondences :

In the initial position

Tamil	*Japanese*
k	k
c	s,
t	t, s
p	F
ñ	n
n	n
m	m
y	y
γ	F, W

Medial Position		*In Gemination*	
Tamil	*Japanese*	*Tamil*	*Japanese*
-k-	-k-	-kk-	-k-
-c-	-s-	-cc-	-s-
-t-	-t-, -s-	-ṭṭ-	-t-, -s-
-P-	-F-	-tt-	-t-
-ṉ-	-n-	-ññ-	-n-
-m-	-m-	-ṇṇ-	-n-
-y-	-y-	-ṉṉ-	-n-
-r-	-r-		
-l-	-r-	-pp-	-F-
-v-	-b-, -F-	-mm-	-m-
-ṭ-	-t-, -s-	-yy-	-y-
-ṇ-	-n-	-ṟṟ-	-r-
-ṟ-	-r-	-ll-	-r-
-ḷ-	-r-	-ḷḷ-	-r-
-ḻ-	-r-	-vv-	-b-

Nasalplosives

Tamil	*Japanese*
nk	n^g
ñc	n^z
ṇṭ	n^d
nt	n^d
mp	m^b
ṉṟ	n^d

5.2.1. Examples for consonant correspondence.

Phoneme	*Tamil*	*Japanese*	*English equivalent*
K-	Kaṇu	Kan-ame	'joint of bamboo, etc.
	Kāmpu	Kabi	'flower stalk'
	Kavuḷ	Kafo	'Cheek'
	Kuruī	Kura	'small bird'
	Koṭṭu	Katu	'to beat'
-K-	pakavu	faka	'division'
	uku	uku	'fall down'
	ēku	iku	'to go'

Phoneme	Tamil	Japanese	English equivalent
	pukai	fukasu	'smoke'
	ñekil	niki	'to be tender hearted'.
-kk-	cakkai	Saka	'chips'
	nukku	nuka	'to grind, crush'
-ṅk-	niṅku	nigu	'to go away'
	uṛaṅku	uragu	'to sleep'
	vāṅku	wagu	'to bend'
	vaṅku	wago	'hole'
	kaṛaṅku	karagu	'to whirl'
c-	campā	saba	'a kind of paddy'
	cappai	safasu	'that which is insipid or tasteless'
	caṭṭi	sasi	'earthen vessel'
	cimpu	siba	'small splinter'
	cūppu	sufu	'to suck'
-c-	kacaṭu	kasu	'imperfection, dirtiness'
	picai	fisigu	'to squeeze'
	muci	musiru	'to be crumpled'
-cc-	paccai	fasa, wasa	'greenness'
	maccu	masa	'terraced roof'
	kucci	kusi	'stump of a shrub, stick'
ñ-	ñālam	na	'earth'
	ñekil	niki	'to be soft'
-ṭ-	aṭi	atu	'to beat'
	taṭi	tatu	'to thicken'
	taṭi	tatu	'to cut off'
	taṭi	tati	'stick, a piece of wood'
	aṭi	asi	'foot'
	vaṭu	fasu	'mole, scar'
	piṭi	fisi	'to catch'

Phoneme	*Tamil*	*Japanese*	*English equivalent*
-ṭṭ-	peṭṭi	fitu	'box'
	peṭṭai	fitai	'female of animals and birds'
	ceṭṭai	siti	'wing, feather'
-ṇṭ-	vaṇṭu	fadi	'bee'
	piṇṭi	fidi	'flour, powder'
	tuṇṭam	tuda	'piece, bit'
	ceṇṭu	sida	'ball'
-ṇ-	aṇai	ana	'dam'
	kaṇ	kaname	'joint of bamboo, etc.,'
	maṇa	managari	'to be united'
	maṇ	mana	'earth'
	māṇ	manesi	'glory, dignity'
t-	taṭi	tatu	'to thicken'
	taṭi	tatu	'to cut off'
	taṭi	tati	'stick, piece of wood'
-t-	putai	futa.	'to bury'
	ūtu	uti	'to blow'
	kutalai	kutaru	'soft talk'
-tt-	tattu	tatu	'to leap, hop'
	uttu	utu	'to discard'
-nt-	tantai	tada	'father'
n-	naral	naru	'to sound'
	naṭu, nā	na	'middle'
	nampu	namu	'to desire'
	nāvu	naburu	'tongue'
p-	pakavu	faka	'division'
	paccai	fasa	'greenness'
	para	fara	'to spread'
	paru	faru	'to become large'
	pāmpu	fabu	'snake'

Phoneme	Tamil	Japanese	English equivalent
-pp-	cappai	safasu	'that which is tasteless'
	cūppu	sufu	'to suck'
	ceppu	ifu	'to say'
	oppu	afu	'to agree'
-mp-	campā	saba	'a kind of paddy'
	kāmpu	kabi	'flower stalk'
	cāmpu	sabu	'to wither, droop, decline'
	pāmpu	fabu	'snake'
m-	maccu	masa	'terraced roof'
	maṭam	mata	'ignorance'
	maṭu	maturu	'to take food or drink'
	matil	mati	'fortification'
	māṉ	manesi	'dignity'
-m-	amiḻ	amu	'to be immersed'
	kamaḻ	kamari	'to be fragrant'
	namuṭṭu	namadu	'to itch'
	tumi	tumu	'to be cut off'
-mm-	ammā	ama, amma	'mother'
	kammu	kama	'to become hoarse'
y-	yāṟu	yara	'river'
-y-	mayakku	maya	'ignorance, confusion'
	uyar	uya	'to rise'
-yy-	tuyya	tuya	'pure'
-r-	para	fara	'to spread'
	paru	faru	'to grow large'
	pari	fasiru, fasu	'to escape'
	ural	usu	'mortar'
-ṟ-	paṟi	faru	'to pluck'
	nāṟu	naru	'to sprout'
	yāṟu	yara	'river'

Phoneme	*Tamil*	*Japanese*	*English equivalent*
-ṟṟ-	maṟṟai maṟu	mata	'again, other'
	paṟṟu	faru	'to grasp'
	muṟṟu	musu	'to ripen'
-ḻ-	kaḻu	kari	'stake'
	taḻai	taru	'to flourish'
	vaḻu	waru	'error'
	kuḻappu	kurufu	'to mix, stir'
	kaḻi	kasi	'staff, stick'
-ḷ-	kaḷai	karu	'weed'
	taḷar	tarasi	'to droop'
	iḷaku	iraku, yuraku	'to move, shake'
	viḷampu	wirafu, urafu	'to speak, say'
-ḷḷ-	caḷḷal	sarafu	'mud'
	ceḷḷu	siramu	'flea, tick'
-l-	alukku	aruku	'to shake'
	alar	aru	'to blossom'
	avalam	afare	'sorrow'
	nalakku	naru	'to crumple'
-ll-	calli	cari, jari	'small pieces of stone'
-v-	vaṭu	fasu	'mole, scar'
	vaṇṭu	fadi	'low, mean'
	vavvu	fafu, bafu	'to snatch'
	vāy	fa	'mouth'
	vaku	waku	'to separate'
	vaṅku	wago	'hole'
	vāṅku	wagu	'bend'
	vaḻu	waru	'error'
-v-	avalam	afare	'sorrow'
	kaviḻ	kaferu	'to turn over'
	kavuḷ	kafo	'cheek'
	kuvavu	kufafu	'to heap up'
	nāvu	nabur u	'tongue'
	vāyal	faburi	'bat'

Phoneme	*Tamil*	*Japanese*	*English equivalent*
-vv-	avvai	aba	'mother'
	kavvu	kaburu	'to seize with the mouth'
	vavvu	fafu	'to snatch'

5.3 Phonemic Merger and split

From the above discussion it may be noticed that the Tamil *e* and *i* are found to have merged as *i* in Japanese. Tamil *o* has split into *a* and *ō* in Japanese. With regard to the consonants the initial *t* of Tamil has split into *t* and *s* in Japanese and the initial *v* has split into *p* and *w* in Japanese. It may also be noted that the Tamil *p*– and *v*– in certain cases have become *f* in Japanese. The medial nasals *ṉ* and *n* of Tamil have become *n* in Japanese. The medial *r, l, ḷ, ḻ* and *ṟ* of Tamil have merged as *r* in Japanese and this merger has resulted into a number of homonyms in Japanese.[5] In the medial position Tamil *t* has split into *t* and *s,* Tamil *v* has split into *b* and *f;* Since Tamil *t* corresponds to *t* and in certain cases *s,* we assume here that the change *ṭ* → *t* might have occurred first and the change t→t or s followed it.

As in Tamil, there are no initial clusters in Japanese. In Tamil the consonants *k, c, t, n, p, m, v, y* and *ñ* can occur as the initial consonant of a word. In Japanese only the reflexes of these consonants begin a word. The consonant *r* cannot begin a word in both the languages.

5.4 Certain significant observations at the phonological level

It was observed by T. Burrow that Tamil and Malayalam show a number of words which have dropped the initial palatals. A similar tendency is found in Japanese language,

5. For example *tatu* 'to thicken' *tatu* 'to cut off' and *tatu* 'to hop' are homonyms. Due to the merger of a and *ā* on the one hand and *l* and *r* on the other we have the homonyms (1) kara 'stone', (2) kara 'to be pungent' and (3) kara 'leg'.

too.[6] In support of this statement a few examples are given below.

Tamil	Japanese	
ceppu	ifu	'to say'
curai	uri	'calabash climber'
cuḻal	uzu	'to go round, turn'

It is interesting to note that the intervocalic consonant clusters are simplified in Japanese. The following chart will make the situation clear.[7]

Tamil	Japanese
-P-	-P-
-pp-	-p-
-NP-	-B-

P stands for a voiceless plosive.
N stands for a nasal.
B stands for a voiced plosive.

A few examples are given below:

Tamil	Japanese	English equivalent
-k-	-k-	
tukai	tuku	'to pound'
ēku	iku	'to go'
akal	akaru	'to spread'
-kk-	-k-	
nukku	nuka	'rice bran'
-ṅk-	-g-	

6. For further details please see Susumu Ohno's 'The Loss of Initial C in Tamil and S in Japanese in *Uyarāyvu*, pp. 16–21. For further details regarding the loss of initial C/S in South Dravidian, please see T. Burrow's *Collected Papers on Dravidian Linguistics*, pp. 150–77.

7. For a detailed discussion please see Susumu Ohno's "A Study on the Relationship between Tamil and Japanese — Intervocalic stops in the Two Languages" in IJDL, Vol. XII No. 2, pp. 366–96.

Tamil	*Japanese*	*English equivalent*
niṅku	nigu	'to run away'
uṛaṅku	uṛagu	'to sleep'
ankalāy	agarasi	'to grieve'

6. Similarities at Morphological Level:

Both Tamil and Japanese are postpositional languages. The casal functions are done either by a suffix or a postposition. There is no relative pronoun in both the languages.[8] The function of copula verb and the structure and function of onomatopoetic words are very much alike in both the languages.[9] More detailed studies will enable us to have a better understanding of the relationship between Dravidian and Japanese.

The concept of *Taṉviṉai* and *piṟaviṉai* which is clearly maintained in Tamil and Malayalam is found in Japanese language.[10] There is a class of verbs in Tamil corresponding to which we can form piṟaviṉai by adding piṟaviṉai marker.

Taṉviṉai		*Piṟaviṉai*	
naṭa	'walk'	naṭattu	make.........walk'
ōṭu	'run'	ōṭṭu	'make.........run'
uṇ	'eat'	ūṭṭu	'make.........eat'

It should be borne in mind that the causative verbs are different from *piṟaviṉai.* The causative marker (*vi, pi* or *ppi*) can be added with any verb; but the *piṟaviṉai* marker can be added only to a class of verbs.

The *taṉviṉai – piṟaviṉai* distinction is very well maintained in Japanese. A few examples are given below.

8. Please see Susumu Shiba's "Dravidian and Japanese — A Connection of Altaic and South Asian" in *Pulamai*, Vol. 7. Special Issue.

9. Please see Miss V. N. Balambal's "Onomatopoetic Expressions in Tamil and Japanese" in *Uyarāyvu*, pp. 49-54.

10. Please see Pon. Kothandaraman's "Taṉviṉai Piṟaviṉai" in Ilakkaṇa Uḻakil Putiya Pārvai, pp. 11-18.

Taṉviṉai		*Piṟaviṉai*	
uturu	'move'	utusu	'transfer'
ötöru	'be inferior'	ötösu	'make inferior'
kaferu	'return'	kafesu	'send back'
tafuru	'die'	tafusu	'kill'

Japanese *tafuru* and *tafusu* are comparable to the Tamil verb *tapu* which is a very old word. The verb *tapu* can be used as *taṉviṉai* and *piṟaviṉai* without any suffix in Tamil. This *tapu* has changed as *tafu* in Japanese and it takes *-ru* for *taṉviṉai* and *-su* for *piṟaviṉai*. The word *tapu* is a very valuable evidence for the occurrence of intervocal -p- in Tamil. When *tapu* is used as *taṉviṉai*, it means 'to die': When it is used as *piṟaviṉai*, it means to 'make somebody die'. The Japanese verbs *tafuru* and *tafusu* stand as a very valuable piece of evidence in support of the relationship between Tamil and Japanese.

7. Similarities at Syntactic Level :

The syntactic structures of Japanese also are very much similar to those of Tamil syntax. The use of relative participle in Japanese is strikingly similar to that of the relative participle in Tamil. Both the languages are verb-final languages. The structures of the noun phrase and verb phrase are common to both. The adjective always precedes a noun. Similarly the adverb always precedes a verb.[11]

8 Conclusion :

After going through various research works on Dravidian-Japanese relationship for the past four or five years, I am fully convinced that the Dravidian and Japanese languages are genetically related. A careful, steady and systematic study in this area will enable us to reconstruct the parent language which may have to be called Proto-Dravido-Japanese.

I would like to humbly conclude this brief paper with the following words of Robert Caldwell.[12]

11. Please see, Susumu Shiba's "Dravidian and Japanese — A connection of Altaic and South Asian" in *Pulamai*.

12. Please see Robert Caldwell's '*A Comparative Grammar of the Dravidian or South Indian Family of Languages*' p. 626.

"I am fully persuaded that many of the resemblances I have tabulated in these lists will turn out to be resemblances and nothing more. It will be found that the resemblance diminishes or disappears in the course of inquiry; and therefore that it must have been accidental. I am equally persuaded, however, that all the resemblances I have pointed out will not be found to be the result of accident; and I consider it an aid to further, more extended, and more searching inquiry, and therefore not unscientific, to draw the attention of scholars to such resemblances as exist - whatever their nature or degree."

8189

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The author likes to express his warm and sincere thanks to Dr. Susumu Ohno of Gakushuin University, Tokyo for his valuable help without which the paper would not have been possible.

The Chairman in his concluding remarks thanked the Lecturer and the audience.

SILVER JUBILEE CELEBRATION OF THE INSTITUTE OF TRADITIONAL CULTURES

The Institute of Traditional Cultures arranged for a series of Seminars to commemorate the Silver Jubilee of the Institute during the years 1982 and 1983. One of the highlights of the Series is the Seminar held at the University Centenary building on the 25th February 1983 on 'The Origin, Evolution and Reform of the Tamil Script' inaugurated by Dr. M. Santhappa, Vice-Chancellor, Madras University and led and conducted by Thiru Iravatham Mahadevan, I.A.S. (Retd.) It is noteworthy that the final function of the Silver Jubilee held on 22nd September 1983 coincided with the Madras University Post Centenary Silver Jubilee Celebration.

This Crowning event of the Silver Jubilee celebration was the multifaceted Seminar on "Folk Arts in Tamil Nadu" and Musical Performance. The Seminar was inaugurated by Kalaimamani Thiru D. V. Narayanaswami, Secretary, Tamil Nadu Iyal Isai Nataka Manram under the presidentship of Thiru K. Chokkalingam, Chief Secretary, Government of Tamil Nadu.

A scintillating Keynote Address was delivered by Silambu Chelvar Hon'ble Thiru Ma. Po. Sivagnanam, Chairman, Tamil Nadu Legislative Council and the same is reproduced in the Bulletin. At the General Session held after the inauguration Dr. N. Sanjeevi, Professor and Head of the Department of Tamil Literature spoke eloquently on 'Folk Literature'; Mrs. Shyamala Balakrishnan presented a paper on 'Folk Music' and rendered beautifully certain pieces by way of illustration. Dr. A. N. Perumal of the International Institute of Tamil Studies presented a well documented paper on 'Folk Plays.' The last two papers are being published in this issue.

In the afternoon session Thiru T. S. Parthasarathy well known Musicologist of Madras and Secretary, Music Academy

was the chief guest when talented musicians both vocalists and Instrumentalists gave a glimpse of the variety of musical compositions presented with a historical perspective. The Vocal artists who provided a rich fare of South Indian Music including the ancient Tamil Isai of Thevaram and Divya prabandham and the Carnatic music of the Trinity down to the modern days including Arunachala Kavirayar and Poet Bharati.

In this connection the Institute is much beholden to Dr. S. Seetha, Head of the Department of Music, for involving the Music Artists in the Silver Jubilee celebration and the other members of the Committee who lent a helping hand on the occasion in the conduct of the Seminar. The Institute is also thankful to the Vice-Chancellor in providing a handsome financial assistance to the Silver Jubilee celebration.

The papers read at the Conference and received from the participants are published below. English version of the speeches of Hon'ble Thiru Ma. Po. Sivagnanam and Thiru T. S. Parthasarathy delivered in Tamil are included.}

Dr. Ma. Po. Sivagnanam, Chairman, Tamil Nadu Legislative Council delivering the *Keynote address* of the Seminar on 'Folk Arts in Tamil Nadu observed: "The Institute of Traditional Cultures on the occasion of the celebration of its Silver Jubilee combined with the celebration of the 125th year of the University of Madras has chosen to conduct a Seminar on 'Folk Arts in Tamil Nadu'. Universities generally pay good deal of attention to Science and Technology but happily we have here a seminar on 'Folk Art culture.' I see in this assembly several musicians, actors and dancers and Tamil scholars. I propose to deal with the folk arts adopting research methodology. Some people particularly the urbanites call the folk arts 'Nāḍōḍi Pāḍalkaḷ' as though they are the songs of nomads. This is a slur on the art arising from superiority complex. The correct designation would be Nāṭṭu pāḍal', the songs of the rural folk. It is to be distinguished from 'National songs', because the Naḍu is used in the sense of 'village' as well as 'country' in different contexts. According to ancient usage Nādu' denotes

a village as distinguished from 'Nagara' which denotes a town e.g. 'Nādum Nagarum Nankariya Namo Nārāyaṇāya enru kūḍum manam uḍaiyīr – Ollai Vandu kūḍuminō' – (Divya prabandha) Here 'Nagar' is used in contradistinction of 'Nāḍu'. In modern days the word 'Nāḍu' is used with the extended meaning of 'country'. So Nāṭṭuppāḍal can as well be called today as 'Songs of the village folk or grāmiya pāḍal.'

Such songs are largely sung by agricultural labourers. They sing when they plough the field or irrigate the land with water drawn from a well with the aid of water lift (Ērram) or sow the seeds or thrash the grain or carry home the produce. Thus songs of this type were in vogue in ancient days wherever artisans and labourers worked in groups.

During the Sangam age songs were an indispensable part of the daily life of people. There is the lullaby at the time when a child is born; when the child is fed there is a song inviting the attention of the child to the yonder moon; during the childhood the children are given simple physical exercises by the mother to move their arms and their body by singing 'Kai visammā kai vīsu' and 'Sāyndāḍammā Sāyndāḍu'. Among the 'minor poems' in Tamil there is a prabandha called 'Piḷḷai Tamizh'. It deals with activities of a child from the time of its early childhood (piḷḷai paruvam) to the age when the child is engaged in playing with the toy car (ciru tēr). There are such 'Piḷḷai Prabandhas' in honour of gods, saints and great poets like Cēkkizhār. It is not known whether such types of poems exist in other languages.

In songs associated with physical labour there may or may not be metrical or rhythmic perfection, but the thought content is significant. In lullabies and mourning songs one can see the metric flow that moves the heart and they also have depth of meaning. But in many of the songs sung to-day in music concerts by musicians there is not that much depth of meaning that grips one's attention. Unfortunately the old type of lullaby used in nurturing the children are disappearing from the women folk of the present day. We are not sure whether

they cotninue to be sung in villages but it is sure that they have disappeared in urban centres. The mourning songs on the death of a dear one is to-day considered as old fashioned. Even in villages the songs of the rural folk engaged in agriculture are slowly vanishing. Perhaps they will cease to exist in the future. One of the reasons may be mechanisation of agriculture. The water lift has been replaced by mechanical motor and the songs associated with the former naturally slowly vanish. The bullock carts are gradually disappearing and with them the songs associated with them too became a thing of the past. It is grievous to think of this state.

In this assembly where we find great artists of dance like Padma Subramaniam I am inclined to deal at length with the art of dance. Dance and drama are like the two sides of a coin. Whether dance stemmed from drama or vice versa is a matter for debate. So far as dance is concerned it has a distinct history and its literature too is unique.

In our country not all the great masters of dance know the history of it; similarly those who are well versed in the history of it are not versed in its art. It is but natural. But it would be a good thing to those who practise the art to know the history of it too; nay, it is necessary. If they know its history they will feel a sense of pride in practising such a fine art. It is said that the art of dance existed originally only in the court of Indra where dancing damsels like Urvasi, Rambā, Menakā and Thilottamā used to dance. Such dance concerts were attended by V.I.Ps.

The term 'kūttu' in Tamil stands for both dance and drama. But in Sanskrit they are distinguished by the two terms, Nāṭya and Nāṭaka. Yet the term 'Terukkūttu' came to be used disparagingly to denote the plays enacted in villages as distinguished from the plays staged in urban theatres under the name 'Nāṭakam'. Terukkūttu came to be so cal'ed perhaps because the plays were enacted in the street junctions or by the road side. Even in the days of Silappadikaram dances and

plays were conducted only at street junctions. Silappadikāram refers to the maiden dance performance of Mādhavi only in a street junction at the city of Puhār. The Assembly was headed by a Chola monarch. There the stately elephant of the Chola king moves majestically along the streets of Poompuhār carrying in its trunk the talaikkol' that is used on occasions of dance and preserved in the Royal palace at other times. At the end of this proces ion Madhavi gives her maiden dance performance at the street junction. Her performance can be called 'Theruk-kūttu' Later during the Indra festival she danced at the street junction where the citizens of Puhār thronged. That too is a 'Therukkūttu'. Silappadikāram refers to this dance performed in the Chola city of Puhār, a great port city of Asia, as kūttu'. So the practice of denigrating such a dance as a mere Theruk-kūttu of an inferior kind must be abandoned. It may, if one is so inclined, be called Grāmiya kūttu'.

In this country of Bhārat it is Tamil Nad that is foremost tn the art of dance. It is here that the God of Dance Naṭarāja is engaged in the practice of this art. It was in Tamil language that the first great poem was written with Mādhavi, the dancing maid as the main character. Agastya the first grammarian of 'Muttamizh' went to Indra's assembly as an honoured guest. In honour of Agastya's visit Urvasi performed a dance. On that occasion Jayantan, son of Indra was seated in the first row. When he was witnessing the performance his attention was diverted by Urvasi's physical charm. There was mutual expression of love on the part of both. The rhythm of dance got disturbed. The coordination between the dance and music got disrupted. Agastya got angry and cursed both of them to be born on earth. Ilango the author of Silappadikāram refers to this incident in both 'Arangērru kāthai' and 'kaḍalāḍu kāthai'. Dr. U. Ve. Swaminatha Iyer in a footnote in Silappadikāram records this account of Jayantan and Urvasi thus cursed by Agastya and they were born respectively as a bamboo in the Vindhya and as a dancing girl at Kanchi as cited by the author of Suddhananda Prakasa Bharatam in the verse 'vānavar komān vanitai viruṇdu...' in Asiriyappa metre.

Agastya did not curse them because they loved each other. It cannot be said that the sage Agastya was against the very concept of 'love'. It may be remembered that Agastya gave the first grammar in Tamil and Tolkāppiyam was modelled on that. In these grammatical works love between a man and a woman including the love of clandestine type (kaḷavu) is elaborated in Akattiṇai section. Thirukkuṟaḷ also says Naṉṟāṟṟal uḷḷum tavaṟuṇṭu avar avar paṇpaṟintu āṟṟākkaṭai.' Accordingly even though there is nothing wrong in Jayantan and Urvasi falling in love with each other Agastya was sore because they degraded the divine art of dance by their behaviour when that art was being practised. It was the break in the rhythm of the sacred dance by their inappropriate behaviour that angered Agastya. From this story we learn that the art of dance originally practised in heaven was introduced on earth later. The only regret is that the origin of dance in the Bhārata land should be associated with a curse of Agastya.

We learn from Silappadikāram that Mādhavi is a descendent of Urvasi who came down from heaven to Kanchi in Tamil Nad. When Mādhavi danced in the presence of Chola king Kōvalan, the son of Māsāttuvān who was there fell in love with her. As a consequence he parted company with his devoted and chaste wife Kaṇṇaki. Later Mādhavi danced in the presence of the citizens on the occasion of Indra festival. Some of the young men assembled there who had no taste for the art of dance were engrossed in her physical charm. On observing this Kōvalan got estranged from Mādhavi. Now he parted company with Mādhavi.

I have heard it said by an artist of to-day that 'Art will not woo the men, men must woo the art'. B t in the days of Silappadikāram both these happened. Mādhavi danced both in the Royal assembly consisting of men of the higher strata in the society and in the assembly of common folk in the Indra festival. There was then no distinction among artists as those who dance in the assembly of noblemen and those who dance among the common folk. The distinction was only in

the manner of appreciating the art on the part of those assembled in these two different places.

During the period of later Cholas the art of dance was centred in temples. The temples patronised and fostered the art. When the temple deities were taken out in procession the dancing girls accompanied the deities and performed the dance. They were generally courtesans who were known as 'Naṭana gaṇikaiyar'.

During the Pre-chola period when the land was ruled by Kalabhras and early Pallavas the art of dance received no encouragement. These rulers who were either Jainas or Bauddhas who discouraged the growth of dance, because they considered that the arts of music and dance are conducive to encourage base erotic feeling. The rulers, advised by the Jain and Buddhist monks hated the art of dance. Paritimaṛ kalaignar alludes to this sorry state of affairs with deep anguish in his work.

FOLK PLAYS OF TAMIL NADU

(Dr. A. N. Perumal)

Characteristics of Folkplays:

Drama is play in action. The chief characteristic of dramatic art is that it transforms whatever happens in life into art and dramatises them for enjoyment sportively. Many folk-arts have such dramatic qualities. They are full of dances and songs. The folk-play is to act incidents or stories connected to life or religion mostly interspersed with dance to the accompaniment of sweet songs. It would be continous dancing and singing enacting coherent events. Refined form of dance which feasts the present generation is nothing but the development of folk-plays.

Ordinarily folk-plays are performed in simple style to the free will of the participants in order to please the rustic folks. There is more of fun and frolic rather than art and advice. The folk-play must make the attendents merry and in a way

it is to be related to the life of the people. Anything serious should not find its way in folk-plays. Well known themes within the easy grasp of the rustics best suit the subject matter of such performances. They may be religious or social.

In ancient times various kūttus were prevalent among the Tamils which had the qualities of folk-plays. In recent past musical plays or street shows like Paḷḷu, Kuṛavañchi, Kuḷuvam, Noṇḍi and Terukkūttu or musical plays were very popular in Tamil Nadu. All these folk arts were very simple in their performance but very high in pleasing the rural people in those days. With less of artistic techniques these plays were highly aluable in feasting the people.

Drama in its developed form is almost real and natural compared to what is actually going on in the society. Moreover in writing a drama certain methods have to be followed and particular regulations have to be adhered to. Further, modern drama needs garish lights, flaunting curtains and festal atmosphere in order to have real effect upon the audience. But in the earlier centuries the resources were limited and means scanty. The common people of the past could not afford such means and resources to perform such shows in a developed manner. So they have to be satisfied with street-effect. Of course the heat and discomfort of certain modern theatres would not have been there. In the open air surrounded by the beauty of nature they could enjoy the performance. However in those days some of the conveniences of modern theatre were absolutely non-existent, but then we are not justified in expecting them. This naturally reduced the required perfection. In most cases the players had to depend upon the money voluntered by the people or any patron.

Generally the audience of the street-shows were free from any kind of restriction and hence were most unruly. They could not maintain the decorum and decency of the auditorium. Very often they felt very uneasy and could not remain calm and attentive to serious acts for a long time. They needed to be engaged in fun and frolic behaviour in order to keep their

spirits soaring up. Their expectation in an entertaining event could not be more than this. So their attention should be kept occupied continuously. The actors had to be prepared for this or at least do something to captivate the attention of such people. They should also please the audience and keep them merry. Only then they could be attentive and would allow a calm atmosphere during the performance.

Erotic tales and witty riddles of life could easily arrest the attention of such people. The jokes about the folly of ordinary life might produce a cheerful atmosphere. Debasing wits and humorous talks would also call them to attention. Such things abounded in the scenes of the street-shows. Notwithstanding the demerits, nearly all these plays dealt with love or its adjuncts with varied forms and techniques. In order to restrain the audience from indulging excessively in worldly pleasures the authors of the street-shows added features of divinity and serene thoughts, through certain episodes taken from mythological stories. As seen, the form and manner of action of the street-shows differed but their themes were mostly confined to love and divinity. On and off social pictures emerged from the scenes with less seriousness. Feelings of none would be hurt but all could learn something of value. They could enjoy by forgetting the worries of life and the tedium of labour. Their knowledge of the world was limited and therefore they were satisfied with what was shown on the stage through these street-shows.

Paḷḷu :

Paḷḷu is a kind of dance-drama in which the main role of action is played by ordinary people belonging to the Paḷḷar community whose occupation is tilling. The form and function of the story in Paḷḷu are about the general life of the ordinary peasants. Various Gods or munificent persons were celebrated as heroes in Paḷḷus. A few were written particularly for the purpose of glorifying certain communities like vaiciyar and Nagarattār.

The life of the agricultural labourers who were in the lower rungs of social ladder was full of family feuds and misunderstanding. In Paḷḷu it was depicted in dramatic setting. In it there were beautiful songs with poetic exuberance in the form of Kalippā, Kalitturai and Cintu. When Paḷḷu was being enacted it had been enriched by the presence of the notorious character of Kaṭṭiankaran. But in its printed form his role has been omitted. It is known that Pallu had been enacted not only as a drama but also a dance performance when others sang the songs, off–stage.

The social and family life of the tilling class not owning land day–to day life of the farmers, their religion and the relationship between the lord and the labourer, are seen portrayed in simple style with melodious songs and lively action. The working class women making fun of the land-lord at the expense of his awkward physical appearance and illiterate mannerism, suggest that they did not like and accept the prevailing social situation in which they were put. The traditional set up thrusted upon them was not accepted gladly by them. An under current within, might have awakened their sense of human rights and privileges. So as a token of mild protest they played jokes and threw witty remarks at the land-lords. The land-lords could not expect abject obedience and respect from the workers any more. Their actions acknowledged their understanding regarding the position of the land-lord, who too has got his own limitations. An irritated mind starts with mockery at its contemptuous opponent. In due course seriousness is added and slowly the attack will be intensified. The mocking remarks of the paḷḷar women suggest a bitter agitative impulse taking root in the minds of the tilling folks against the dictatorial nature of the idle landlords.

The innocence and ignorance of the peasanty are brought out in their social setting. They had a separate world of their own which they liked and loved without caring for anything better. The trifling conflicts in their family life had been exaggerated and developed into problematic situations and out of which intense emotions were made to evolve without serious

consequences. The audience had to think of their follies but not to feel hurt in any way. Realisation of what they had done and mending them toward a good life were the expected goals. Nothing abnormal and serious should come out of such action. Paḷḷu tried to teach them where they were and what they ought to be in life.

Kuravañci:

Kuravañci is a form of street-play very popular in the 17th, 18th and 19th centuries. The authors of Kuravañci have strictly followed the traditional practices and formalities in writing them. They begin with a happy innovation. After such formalities the Kaṭṭiyaṅkāran makes his appearance and announces the coming of the hero in procession in the streets. At that time a hilarious atmosphere is created with an anticipative excitement upon the attendants. Women-folks of various age groups stand on the wayside and revel in the show of feelings at the sight of the hero. With all grandeour the hero passes through the streets without the slightest indication of any special feeling in his face. Casually he glances at the gathering and passes on his way. But on seeing his majestic appearance so many women become sick in their hearts. They cannot but carry with them heavy loads of living emotions which amount to deep love.

The heroine of the Kuravañci feels sick at heart and entertains intense passion for the hero who has stolen her heart. She isolates herself from the pomp and pleasure of her life that wealth provided her and lies couched forgetting all her happy pastimes. Her confidant is her only companion who serves as her source of consolation. At that time the Kuratti, the highly talented maid with an ability of fore-telling makes her appearance. Her coming is a source of comfort to the heroine.

She begins with the formal flattery of her native mountain and her wonderful ability in predicting the future of human beings. Then she begins to read the palm of the heroine by

using the magic wand in her hand. What lingers in the mind of the heroine comes through the mouth of Kuratti. It is full of promising comments. On hearing her words the heroine is all smiles that lend beauty to her face. She becomes very liberal in her gifts to the Kuratti. With high expectation of good tidings from the hero the first part of Kuravañci comes to a close.

The second part introduces the Kuravan. He is in an anxious mood to meet the Kuratti, his wife. She was away from him for a long time. All of a sudden he is taken by surprise when he meets her in rich costumes and costly ornaments. His interrogative remarks in exclamatory eagerness are all answered with intelligent retorts suitably framed with meaningful words. A cheerful atmosphere is created by the conversation between the Kuravan and Kuratti. The Kuravañci ends in happiness to all.

Social, philosophical and religious thoughts are evenly mixed and harmonised with the scenes, without affecting in any way the main plot. These useful materials are added as though they are placed inadvertently. But they are so mixed that they do not fail to produce real effect upon the audience. Everything seems natural in the progress of the plot.

Noṇḍi Nāṭakam :

Noṇḍi Nāṭakam is a special form of public performance enacted by a single man posing himself as lame. Through songs he narrates his past experiences and acts as to satisty the requirements of the situations created therein. There is dramatic effect in the action. With appropriate setting the performance would progress attractively. Such a show could get easily a huge crowd during the 17th and 18th centuries. Comical items abounded the show which could produce a loud peal of laughter among the audience. Most of the attendants in those days were ordinary people.

The performance would begin with all the formalities of Pallu, Kuravañci etc. The lame man comes forward singing

aloud his past life. He seems to be a repentant soul polished with his own experiences. What he had done before was nothing but vices. In most of the Noṇṭi Naṭakam the theme and form remain the same. The lame man was not really lame when the story began. He was under the care of his parents but was not satisfied with that life. So he left them without a word in pursuit of happiness in his own way. He was left penniless after some time and so began to steal. With what he got, he wanted to enjoy. His addiction to drink and association with prostitutes drained his purse. As a result he was put to a series of troubles. He found none to help him. The prostitute who had hitherto squeezed him of his wealth and health, had closed her doors against his face. As a desperate soul he roamed about with arrogance and antaganism.

In his attempt to steal a horse, he was caught by the watchman. They took him to their chief who ordered his limbs to be cut off. When the punishment was carried out he cried aloud for mercy to God. Withdivine help he miraculouslya regained his lost limbs and remained good for ever with full faith in god. This is the sum and substance of all the Noṇṭi Nāṭakam. The hero changes and the nature of vices varies. Respective religious views are focussed as the situations are arranged according to the faith of the author.

Kuḷuva Nāṭakam:

Kuḷuva Naṭakam is another form of street-show prevalent in the 17th and 18th centuries. In this type, the Kuḷuvan, was given the prominent role in action. As a serving type belonging to an ordinary stratum, he was akin to Kuṛavan a participant in Kuṛavanci. Cinkan and Cinki were also present with minor roles.

This type also was in a stereotyped form as others mentioned above. As a mark of gratitude Kuḷuva Nāṭakam was written to praise a hero, a race or a god, who were helpful and graceful.

The Kuḷuvan appeared with bows and arrows besides his other weapons to hunt animals and to catch birds. He was clad poorly. The author did not forget to describe his well-built frame of body which was tanned because of hard labour under the heat of the burning sun. Then he sang the glories of the chief who had helped him a lot. The praises of a particular God or the special feature of a race were also portrayed in certain Kuḷuva Nāṭakam.

Terukkūttu or Musical Plays:

Terukkūttu was performed in the street or in any open space. Fire burning like torches served lighting arrangement and a white cloth held by two persons provided the requirements of a screen. With less of make-up more actions were made on the stage. People enjoyed these street-shows unmindful of the incredibilities in them. In course of time such performances were developed to a form which were conducted under a thatched room in an open space. Such musical plays enticed particularly rural folks.

To conduct such simple plays, the villagers joined together and took responsibility on spending money for conducting these plays during festive occasions. In many plays people called such shows 'kūttu'. These dramas provided more opportunities for singing. Due prominence was also given to dancing but less care was taken for correct action. One who was blessed with a high pitched voice could master the situations on the stage and easily become the hero of the play.

Loud music and hazardous action would play a pivotal role in this kind of musical plays. Comic roles were considered as very important. Sometimes even divine characters were fooled or made fun of by the clown without the slightest distaste of the participants or the assemblage before the stage. Such witty comments had been accepted by all, as a part of comic element of the plays and so none felt anything to be irritated or to get annoyed. In short everything played before the people was done with full co-operation and proper understanding.

In these musical plays there was no division such as acts and scenes. When one part ended another began with short intervals. The change in scenes would be announced by the Kaṭṭiyankāran or through the pronouncement of 'Potuviruttam' by the author. The people were well acquainted with such practices and hence nothing improper or preposterous was felt by them. They could follow the proceedings as they knew the story already. They also understood the limitations of the stage actions which had to be done only with scanty means. These were days when people lacked stage techniques. Much of the stage conveniences were highly wanting and so people had to be satisfied with what was done on the stage by the actors. The actors tried to bring out their talents in communicating a story in the form of a drama. Nothing perfect and highly artistic could be expected from those actors. With loud voice they could sing and with their handsome physical appearance they could jump and hop in a hilarious mood. People enjoyed their action without showing any dissatisfaction as they were aware of the limited means and provisions.

Most of the stories for play writing were taken from the well known Purāṇas and Itihāsas. It was a period when most of the poeple were highly religious and orthodox. It was customary to sing those stories at home and temples. So it was but natural that they desired the stories to be acted on the stage. In order to satisfy the desires of the people the authors, mostly the village school-masters, tried with what talents they possessed to improvise those stories in a form suitable for enactment on the stage. They can be compared with the 'No drama' of Japan in many respects. In Japan such kind of plays were written to please the rich and the educated. But in our country these plays were mostly enjoyed by the folks.

Remarks Regarding Folk-Plays:

Folks are very simple and mostly uneducated. Within the limits of their scanty knowledge, they prepared plays praising their deities or chieftains. Such shows varied from place to

place and tribe to tribe in their form and performance. To satisfy the cravings of the people for amusement, all these presentations were built up of beautiful songs composed in different tunes. With stipulated designs the playwrights constructed stereotyped plays for their people to enjoy.

Drama in its developed form is almost real and natural compared to what is actually going on in the society. Moreover in writing a drama certain methods have to be followed and particular regulations have to be adhered to. Further, modern drama needs garish lights, flaunting curtains and festal atmosphere in order to have real effect upon the audience. But in the earlier centuries the resources were limited and means scanty. The common people of the past could not afford such means and resources to perform such shows in a developed manner. So they have to be satisfied with street-shows. Nature itself provided the stage and also the light-effect. Of course the heat and discomfort of certain modern theatres would not have been there. In the open air surrounded by the beauty of nature they could enjoy the performance. However in those days some of the conveniences of modern theatre were absolutely non-existent, but then we are not justified in expecting them. This naturally reduced the required perfection. In most cases the players had to depend upon the money volunteered by the people or any patron.

Thirumathi Shymala Balakrishnan presenting a paper on 'Folk Music' spoke :-

Bharati, the Renaissance poet of Tamil Nadu in his 'Kuyil pāṭṭu' (song of the cuckoo) Mānuṭappeṇkaḷ......' refers with gusto how he was ravished by the songs of the Rural folk bearing on love-making, drawing water with the lift for irrigation, harvesting, being engaged in domestic chores such as pounding the grain etc. as well as the sweet strain of classical music both vocal and instrumental such as the lute and the flute, the drum and the tabor. Similarly I too was attracted to the Folk Music. I am deeply indebted to the rural folk for the ardent cooperation and help they extended to me.

We are indebted to the pioneering efforts of scholars like Charles Gover who in the 19th century discovered and introduced to the public the folk songs of Tamil Nad. Fox Strangways and Percy Macqueen and a few others collected the folk songs and published them in the western mode of staff notation. Our own Researchers followed suit thereafter. But they were not attracted to the musical aspect of these songs as they were to the words therein.

It is admitted by scholars to-day that Folk songs are as much part of our ancient cultural heritage as the classical arts and literature. But to my knowledge these songs have not so far been published with notation. I have collected several songs first hand from the rural folk. I would appeal to the University of Madras, the International Institute of Tamil Studies, Iyal, Isai Nataka Manram and similar bodies devoted to the cause of Music to further research in this field instead of remaining satisfied with merely publishing certain songs, which is only a first step in a scientific study of these songs.

The Western scholars have stated that the basic for the classical music is the folk music that springs from emotional surge. Dr. U. V. Swaminatha Iyer has stated, 'A Complete Treatise on Tamil songs has not yet been brought out. If somebody can collect such songs that are current among our village folk we may be able to advance our knowledge in the field of Musicology.' My acquaintancc with and practice in classical music helped me in my task of delving deep into the ocean of folk music.

One can find a few notices about folk music in Tholkappiyam, Tamil Sangam classics, Epics, Thirukkural etc. The Tamils have been encouraging down the ages the folk songs that reflect our great culture. Folk music is in no way inferior to classical music. Till recent years the elite and the common folk acted in unison in all spheres in rural areas. Our temples have been the treasure house of fine arts. Classical music particularly the Nadaswaram occupied the pride of place in temples. Our common folk exulted in this music. As classical music and

dance were purveyed to the public without any admission fee it was possible for the common man to listen to good music and behold good dances and get their artistic sense enriched. In close association with these classical arts, the folk arts too flourished. The classicists showed no hesitation in enriching their repertoire with the folk arts. This wholehearted and constructive interchange of ideas continued all along uninterruptedly. The folk music based on the unsullied rustic emotions was the basis for the classical music fashioned and regulated by the grammar of music. There are also 'meṭṭus' (melodic setting) in folk music that are based on classical music. This give and take between the two was highly productive of good results. It is therefore easy to understand and estimate the folk music on the basis of the 'Rāga (tune) and 'Tāla' (rhythm) of classical music.

One can almost feel in the folk music traces of Carnatic music. Generally it may not be possible to see the entire feature of the Raga of Carnatic music in Folk music as the folk tune utilises generally one 'sthāyi' or even less. This is the reason why the Folk songs are generally rendered in the higher sthāyi. This is called 'madhyamaśruti' in Carnatic music.

In deciding what the 'mela' of the 'meṭṭu' in Folk music is, one has to determine first what its basic Ṣaḍja is. If one changes the position of the basic Ṣaḍja, the 'mela' itself will undergo a change due to a change in the mūrchanā.

Generally no musical instruments are used while rendering the folk songs in the paddy fields. So it is a bit difficult in determining the basic Ṣajḍa. Yet it can be decided by experience through certain other features. Generally the meṭṭus of the folk songs begin with the 'Sa' and end in the same; or it may end in the pañcama that is in assonance with it. Sometimes they end in other 'svaras' also.

1. Mərkə malai........ ē Ranganāthasvāmiyō
   This begins in 'Sa' and ends in 'Sa'.

2. 'Annakkiḷi !.........
   This begins in 'pa' and ends in 'Sa'.
3. 'Kōḍai Nalla Ēlēlō'.........
   This begins in 'Ta' and ends in 'Sa'.
4. 'Pāraiyil⁵ Kiṇaṟu veṭṭi Paruttikkāran Taṉṉiviṭṭu
   This begins in 'ga' and ends in 'Sa'.

Though the singers do not have an instrument to maintain the śruti, they are able to indicate without conscious effort in their voice the basic 'Sa'.

5. Annannu Vāsalile' ...... Co (Sa)
6. Ē ...... Ō...... Puḷḷaiyāru kallālē Ē Akkamāre'...
   Yet it is sometimes difficult to determine the basic 'Sa', For example,
7. Tallālē Lālālē'
   Sā – ri mā ma – pa ma rī – Sa sa sā – (Madhyamāvati)
   Sā – ga pā pa – dha – pa – gā – ri ri – ga ri sā (Mohanam)

Generally a number of folk songs are modelled on the basis of Vādi and Samvādi svaras. For example,

8. 'Veḷḷi Nalla Viḷakkeriyum
   Anname Rāsā"

Here, Sādhāraṇa Gāndhāra and Antara Gāndhāra occur successively.

Once Ṣaḍja is determined the mela can be easily identified. Folk meṭṭus incorporating all the seven svaras are generally few. But in Folk music all the twelve svarasthānas are utilised. Generally 'Pratimadhyama' is rarely used.

The music of the hill tribes reflects the very ancient musical culture. The rustic folk in the plains are affected by the changes that take place around them. We see how the Carnatic music in the past and Cine music in the present day has affected the folk music. It is the comparative absence of such external infuence that accounts for the ancient features

of folk musio among the hill tribes. We can notice the Śuddha madhyama and Prati madhyama figuring alternately in their music. For example,

9. Naṭai tāḷam of the Pulaiyars

Ma¹ – ri – Ma¹ pā – da – pa – lē lē lē .
ri ma² pa dā ma² pa da pā

10. Mangala-nāda tālam

ma² pa da pa Ma² Ma² ma² pa
ma² pa da pa Ma² Ri sa
Ri ga ri ga ma¹ ga sa ri ri pa ma¹ ga ri sa.

The 'melas' that are frequently heard in folk songs are Harikāmbodi and Saṅkarābharaṇa. There is nothing to be surprised because the ancient 'paṇs' of the early Tamils are 'Cempālai' (Harikāmbodi) and Kōṭippālai (Śaṅkarābharaṇa). Śaṅkarābharaṇa is the madhyama mūrchanā of Harikāmbodi. The other 'melas' that are noticed here are Naṭabhairavi, Karaharapriyā, Hanumat Todi, Sūryakāntam, Māyāmālava Gaula, Kīrvaṇi etc. We are able to identify in the Folk songs ragas such as Navroz, Chenchuruṭṭi, Kuriñji, Ānandabhairavi, Punnāgavarāli, Mukāri and Nādanāmakriyā. The difference rests only in the way these rāgas are handled in folk music. We cannot notice the subtle 'gamakas' in folk music as it is not governed by systematic practice and theories of music. From the angle of Carnatic music the svarasthānas in folk music may contain certain deviations. In about 450 folk 'meṭṭus' gathered by me more than 60 rāgas are noticed. If the same folk songs can be sung with elaboration and gamakas we can find the full fledged rāga. For example,

11. Aṉṉē naṉṉē ......rar Aiyanūr Sāmiyō – *Kuṟiñji*

12. Māman makale poṇṇu – – *Mukhāri.*

We find several rāgas in some of the Folk meṭṭus. There are specific varṇa-meṭṭus for the musical forms Kāvadi-chindu, Noṇdi-chindu, Ānanda-kaḷippu and Kiḷikaṇṇi. Here too we can notice more than one rāga. These may be described as

Śaṅkīrṇa varṇameṭṭus. Particularly the 'tāla' arrangement of Kāvaḍichendus is something special.

In the musical form 'Themmāngu' there is room for 'Sangatis' and innovative sañcāras as we find in Rāga elaboration. This type of song is sung by cartmen to avoid sleep and eschew fear when they drive the carts during nights.

eg. 13. 'Māḍu reṇḍum marudai veḷḷai'

14. 'Temmāṅgu solli'

The folk songs are handed down from generation to generation. They have not been systematically practised. Though there is no grammar of music as such, still they have developed through the ages in accordance with the taste of the people and their life style. This is the reason why people engaged in the collection of these songs come across the same song in varied meṭṭus.

eg. 15. Taṉṉuṉe Nuṉaṉaṉṉe
"Nittam nittam nelluccōru"
"cinna narikkuṟavā"

16. "Thoṭṭā cevanti pūvē...Kaṇḍēn karuṅkuyilai"
"Vākkumūlam kēkkaiyilē – chandanam pāṭṭu"

We notice the tradition of classical music in the songs of cobblers. Particularly their lullabies and songs sung on marriage occasions are of this type. These Telugus could have come from the Andhra country to Tamil Nad during the period of the Vijayanagara rule.

17. "Tiri Tiri — Sulini rāga

18. "Lēlamma lāli" — Ānandabhairavi

19. "Kaṇḍāmenda" — Yadukula kāmbōdi

It is considered that the Raga Yadukulakāmbōdi had its origin in the Yerukala community in Andhra. The above song lends support to this view.

Even to-day we can notice in the folk music the Apūrva rāgas such as Navroz, Mangalakaiśiki, Saindhavi etc.

20. "Ārārō ārārō" — Navroz
21. "Ōrām mallikai Thōṭṭattilē" — Mangalakaiśiki
22. "Etaḍi Vañciyē" — Saindhavi.

In Therukūttu (street plays). Pommalāṭṭam (puppet show), Kaṇiyān kūttu, villu-pāṭṭu and Kaichilambu-pāṭṭu we find elements of light music folk music and carnatic music. In these performances even the actors and instrumentalists are capable of singing.

Fox Strangways, a musicologist says that musical svarasthānas grow with the growth of human civilisation. This may be true in a broad sense. When we apply this yard stick we are surprised to find that the so called backward tribals in mountains are found to be our equals in their achievements in music. The music of these tribals is of a distinct type. If we study this deeply we may discern its association with the music tradition of a very ancient era. Perhaps we may learn in the music an aspect of civilisation of our submerged land.

23. "Lēlē lē" – Kāṇamaṇalūru (Āndolikā)
(Song of Pulayar)

24. "Akkakkē manibaṅgē Sōdēsē Sōpānē
Naḷē pāna imbiyē murukerukē"
Ānandabhairavi) — Song of Tēṉ kurumbar.

25. "Sāḍē Sōḍē pān" – (Gauḷibandhu) – Song of Lambadis.

Generally the caturaśra and tiśra naḍais are largely used in folk music. Apart from this the 'meṭṭus' are characterised by miśra and khaṇḍa gatis and more than one naḍai. The word sequences such as 'Taṉmuṉē', 'Ēlō ēlō', 'Lēlē' are used to be sung on the basis of the tāla of the above 'meṭṭus'.

We may be able to see a common pattern in the folk music in different parts of the world. I was able to see this in the Art Festival conducted in Australia in which countries of the

Indian ocean participated as well as in the 18th International Music Seminar conducted by Unesco. I demonstrated how the Tamil folk songs bear semblance to the folk songs sung in that congregation. It was possible to discuss similarity to the rāgas Śuddha dhanyāsi, Śuddhasāvēri, Tilang, and Mohanam in the Indonesian songs, of the rāgas Chakravāka and Pūrvikalyāṇi in the songs of the people of Bahrain, of the 'kulavai' song and transplantation songs of Tanjore district in the folk songs of Tanzania.

What surprised me most was the culture of the hill tribes of Gagudja and Balco mountain regions in North Australia. There was a suggestion of Hamsānandi and Sindhu Bhairavi in their songs. They repeated the syllables 'Rāma, Rāma' in their songs. They smear on their body streaks of ash that resembles the holy ash (Tiruniṟu) used here. The white chalk a little pinkish resembles the white chalk that is distributed in the place sacred to Murugan near Sandur in Karnataka.

The Gagudja hill tribes resemble the Iruḷas in our country. Since their language bears resemblance to the South Indian languages, it appears probable that their language is related to the preDravidian Munda language. I found in their language the 'ḷa' sound peculiar to Tamil and Malayalam. They did not know English but were made to understand by speaking in Tamil.

26. ni Nī śa ri śa Śa ni śa rī śa.
ni śa nidha Ma ga ma ga ri Rī Sā. (Hamśānandi)

To the extent I was able to understand I could identify their words with some of the words of South Indian languages.

Gagudja	*South Indian language*
Muṭṭi	Muḷankāl (knee)
Moḷambu	Muṉkai (forehand)
	Muḷam pōṭutal
Vaḷaḷu	Neruppu
Maṉkiṟi	Miṉṉal

Gagudja	*South Indian language*
(Ka) Haḷḷō	Taṇṇēr (Veḷḷam in Mal.)
Laṅṅā (n as in Mal.)	Kātu (ear)
Mullā (1. as in Mal.)	Mūkku (nose)
Maḷē Gōrē (le as in Kan)	Varum
Baṇṇiyā ,,	Kaṇ
Nē nāṭṭi ,,	Uṭkārutal (sitting)
Māvunu (as in Tel.)	Māvu
Liṅgā ,,	pāmbu (snake)
Errā ,,	Ēṛutal (climbing)

The Australian aboriginals, like the Nāgas worship the snakes the Totemic symbols as their ancestors. Even today I found among them sorcerers who bring down rains. Some of their names are Nill, Neminili etc. which are associated with the ancient names of women in our country. There are reasons to suspect whether their culture represents the ancient Indian culture, the development of which was arrested. This needs a multidisciplinary in depth study by linguists, anthropologists, geologists etc.

We are able to notice in the folk music of many other countries traces of our Rāgas. We find folk songs in Canada in Nāṭakuriñji and Madhyamāvati rāgās.

27. Sing to me Sing to me
June that's made for dancing - for
I'll do the dance of death
All the people watching
Turn around Turn around
Doctors, Bakers, Lawyers
Sing to me, Sing to me - June that's made for dancing
(Nāṭakuriñji)

28. Oh call me Oh call me Oh......
(Madhyamāvati)

We are able to perceive in the folksongs of Afghanistan and Turkistan the rāga Sindhubhairavi. In Japanese folk music we can see a number of instances of our Suddha dhanyāsi,

Malahari, Mohanam, Śuddhasāvēri, Sivarañjani, Madhyamāvati etc.

29.	Kē sā mōyō ī gempōjinō gō sō kē mō nē gō tō ye (Japanese)	Śuddha dhanyāsi
30.	Ō mōr moluvārē Morē moluvā kone marilā (Assamese)	

The latter is a Boatman's song.

The similarity between the two can be seen.

We are also able to see similarity to our ragas in the folk music of Norway, Spain, Poland, Czechoslovakia, Yugoslavia and other European countries. Particularly in the folk songs of Greece, the land of ancient civilisation of hoary antiquity we find ragas similar to Madhyamāvati, Śuddhasāvēri, Kīrvāṇi etc.

31. Zenti selis shyātin āgāyāmu
Sehasish dadiya dāstiyamu
sēgli kofitō kesina sphrothnis
Zeñ mē selis shayaftō mē dyōhnis

The folk songs bridge the vast and varied countries of the world. In this context the folk music and songs of Tamil Nad hold an important place. Different sections of Tamil community have developed folk songs each with a special flavour. These songs vary widely in their music and rhythm. It is our necessary and immediate task to preserve this valuable vanishing treasure.

The common folk in our villages are possessed of immense imaginative faculty. They enjoy as part of their daily life arts like music, dance and drama. The Terukkūttu troupes are in fact mobile educational institutions. They cultivated in the minds of people virtues like devotion to God, sense of duty, love, discipline dharma etc. through their art performances.

It is heartening to note that today the State and Central Governments and a number of other bodies in our country

have come forward to protect our folk arts. But it cannot be denied that there lurks a danger in these attempts. It is a big question mark whether genuine fully qualified researchers will get opportunities to work in the field in the present context when commercialisation, selfishness and politics have a free play. The present need is for the folk songs that are lying dormant particularly among people of the older generation in thousands of villages in Tamil Nad collected and recorded in tapes by research scholars who have a genuine interest in folk music and self confidence in themselves. They have to be codified and indexed in such a manner that they are useful to the public and research scholars of the future.

By acquainting themselves with folk music the classical musicians who now keep themselves at a distance from the public can receive public approbation as people's artists.

Folk music is an important means for National integration. We have to admit that films in our land help lakhs of people in our land to appreciate folk music. There are directors of films who have succeeded in their field by utilising folk songs in a very constructive way and they deserve our tribute. Let us pray that such directors do not spoil the people and distract their minds by providing in their films songs lacking in good taste and refinement.

Thiru T. S. Parthasarathy, Musicologist made the following observations on the afternoon of the Seminar when talented musicians rendered Tamil songs representative of various periods. He complimented the musicians that rendered the hymns and kritis with sensitivity. The first to render was Thiru Somasundara Desikar who rendered Saiva Tamil hymns called Thevaram. The rendering was of the authentic Thevaram paṇ in which the songs of Saint Thirugnanasambandhar, Thirunavukkarasar and others were couched 1200 years ago. He pointed out how the Thevaram Paṇ is the basis for the later development of what is now called classical Carnatic music. The Paṇ of Thevaram period is what is now called Rāga.

The number of paṇs according to convention is 103 though only 23 paṇs were used in Thevaram songs. It was a lady of Thirunilakantha Yalpanar's family who resuscitated the Tamil 'paṇs' that were almost forgotten then. Venkatavaradan who rendered songs from the Vaishnava Divya Prabhanda sang with true melody and rapture. Though the Vaishnava prabandha songs are said to have been composed in 28 paṇs the real features of the same are not discernible in the renderings of the present day. The reason for this is perhaps there was no institution in Vaishnava temples to continue their musical traditions like Othuvars in Saiva temples. But it is on record that in the 9th century during the days of Nathamuni the Vaishnava tradition of music and tāla were in vogue. Songs of Periyalvar, Andal, Vedanta Desikar etc. were rendered by him with evocative 'rāgas'.

In the Post Thevaram Prabandham era there was a change in South Indian music. New type of song called 'kirttanai' came to be introduced by Arunachala Kavi, Gopalakrishna Bharati etc. Dr. S. Ramanathan who has done considerable research in music and kindred arts in Silappadikaram rendered some of these kritis in the authoritative fashion. Lastly Mrs. K. R. Lakshmi rendered pleasingly several songs of modern composers like Papanasam Sivan, Periyasami Thooran. On the whole this series of musical renderings by competent vocal artists to the accompaniment of Parur Venkataramier on the violin and K. R. Ganesh on the mridangam gave the audience a bird's eye view of the historical development of South Indian music.